UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

The significance of the place-name element **funta* in the early middle ages.

JILLIAN PATRICIA HAWKINS

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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Jillian Patricia Hawkins

The Old English place-name element **funta* derives from Late Latin *fontāna,* "spring", and is found today in 21 place-names in England. It is one of a small group of such Latin-derived elements, which testify to a strand of linguistic continuity between Roman Britain and early Anglo-Saxon England. **funta* has never previously been the subject of this type of detailed study.

The continued use of the element indicates that it had a special significance in the interaction, during the fifth and sixth centuries, between speakers of British Latin and speakers of Old English, and this study sets out to assess this significance by examining the composition of each name and the area around each **funta* site. Any combined element is always Old English. The distribution of the element is in the central part of the south-east lowland region of England. It does not occur in East Anglia, East Kent, west of Warwickshire or mid-Wiltshire or north of Peterborough. Seven of the places whose names contain the element occur singly, the remaining fourteen appearing to lie in groups.

The areas where **funta* names occur may also have other pre-English names close by. All have evidence of rural agricultural or industrial activity in late Roman times, and were accessible overland. Some have cemetery or settlement evidence of early Anglo-Saxon presence. Twelve **funta* names are mentioned in Domesday. Evidence from place-names, charters and archaeological excavation shows that **funta* sites usually lay between or within areas of continued British, and early Anglo-Saxon, presence.

This accumulated evidence suggests that a place whose name contains the element **funta* may have been a meeting-place at a spring of indigenous and incoming people in this period, probably to agree separate or, more rarely joint, territory. Thus the significance of the element may relate to a local early boundary agreement.

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, JILLIAN PATRICIA HAWKINS

declare that the thesis entitled

The significance of the place-name element **funta* in the early middle ages

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- No part of this degree has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution
- Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work.
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help.
- None of this work has been published.

Signed: ……..
Date: …….

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Introduction to the study: *_funta._

The focus of this study is the Old English place-name element *_funta_. It evolved from the Late Latin word _fontāna,_ "spring" and developed via the regular phonological and morphological changes of the period, in Brittonic and in Old English, into the form used today, which is found in 21 names in lowland England. However, this form has as yet never been found attested in any Old English document, and linguists have posited it from the oblique forms known. This is why it must be preceded by an asterisk. So far the oblique forms have been found only in Anglo-Saxon charters and documents, in place-names and in bounds.

Since the word is a link between the languages of late Roman Britain and early Anglo-Saxon England, it indicates a link between the peoples who spoke these languages, showing that they came together where it occurs. It does not, however, show the spirit in which they met originally. This is a matter for debate.

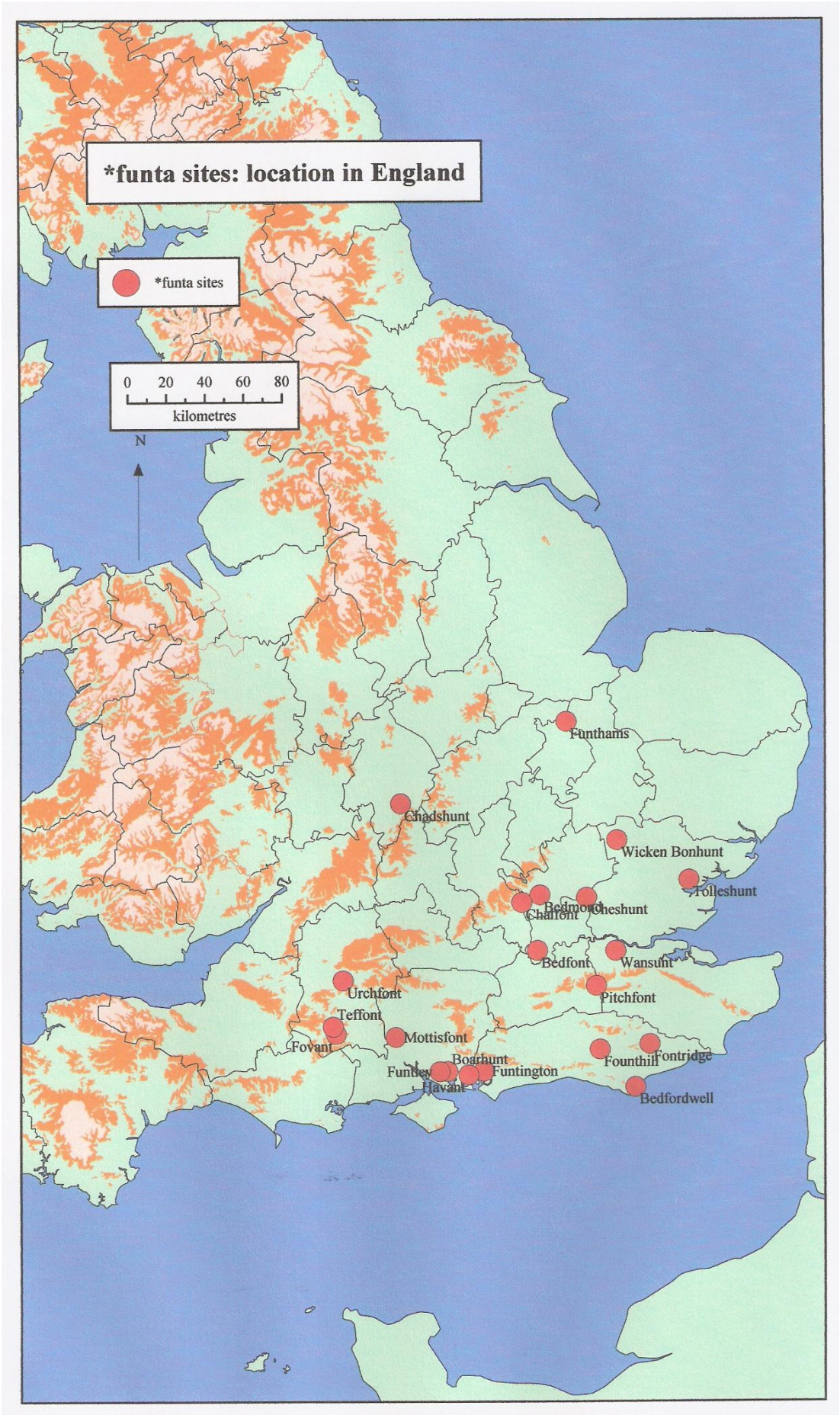
By taking evidence from as many disciplines as possible, a suggested environment may be created around each *_funta_ site which will indicate the local conditions at the beginning of Anglo-Saxon England.

"It is not enough for archaeologists, historians or philologists, to offer their own versions of an explanation, in ignorance or in contradiction one with another. What is needed is for the conclusions of any one discipline or sub-discipline to be tested against research undertaken in others so as to produce a single explanation of the origins of England, however complex that explanation may turn out to be" (Higham 1992, 15).

As the evidence accumulates, a particular significance gradually attaches to the element, and it takes on a symbolism of its own in the fusion of peoples who became the English, and in the creation of England.

Introduction to the study: the thesis.

The thesis has the following structure. In Chapter 1 the background to the period of the end of Roman Britain and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon England is considered, with reference to the sources and historiography relating to this period. In Chapter 2 the question of the languages spoken in this country during the fifth and sixth centuries is addressed, with particular reference to any previous studies of the element *_funta_, its development from Late Latin to Old English and its significance for any discussion of the survival of speakers of a pre-English language. The research questions will arise from the points made and discussed in these two chapters, as to the extent of British survival in the early Anglo-Saxon period, and the use to which the word _fontāna_ was put, by them and by the speakers of Old English. In order to answer these questions, Chapter 3 looks at each *_funta_ name and what was going on in the area around each *_funta_ site during the period in question, with any evidence from an earlier or later date which may be important. In Chapter 4 the material from Chapter 3 is analysed and discussed, and in Chapter 5 this analysis and discussion is interpreted, in an attempt to look behind the facts to suggest reasons why the Latin word _fontāna_ became the Old English element *_funta_, and what it signified to the people who used it, in order to suggest answers to the specific research questions set out at the end of Chapter 1.


*funta sites: location in England
*funta sites
0 20 40 60 80
kilometres
N
Funthams
Chadshunt
Wicken Bonhunt
Tolleshunt
Bedmond
Chalfont
Cheshunt
Bedfont
Wansunt
Pitchfont
Urchfont
Teffont
Fovant
Mottisfont
Boarhunt
Funtley
Havant
Funtington
Founthill
Fontridge
Bedfordwell

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Finally, I would like to mention all those people, some of whom remain anonymous, who work in museums and Record Offices, deal with queries and send copies of SMRs and other local documents, and from whom I have always met with a courteous and speedy response. I readily acknowledge their contribution, and that of those residents near **funta* sites whom I engaged in conversation when I was visiting their area, and who answered my questions with interest and enthusiasm.

Abbreviations:

ASC: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Swanton, M (trans and ed) (2000) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, London, Phoenix.

ASSAH: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History.

BCS: Birch, W de Gray (1885 – 99) *Cartularium Saxonicum* vols 1, 2, 3, London, Whiting.

DB: Domesday Book, a complete translation 2003, Penguin Classics.

EHNMR: English Heritage National Monuments Record

GLSMR: Greater London Sites and Monuments Record

HE: Colgrave, B and Mynors, R (eds) (1969) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Oxford, Clarendon.

HER: Historic Environment Record

HSMR: Hampshire Sites and Monuments Record

LPRIA: Late Pre-Roman Iron Age.

NMR: National Monuments Record.

OS: Ordnance Survey Explorer Series

PAS: Portable Antiquities Scheme

PNA: Philip's *Navigator Atlas of Britain 2007*, London, Octopus

Proc HFC: Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club

SAC: Sussex Archaeological Collections

SEAX: Essex county records

SyNMR: Surrey Sites and Monuments Record

VCH: Victoria History of England.

WAM: Wilts Archaeological Magazine

WARWSMR: Warwickshire Sites and Monuments Record

WCSMR: Winchester City Sites and Monuments Record

WSxSMR: West Sussex sites and monuments record.

Chapter 1.

Background to the study: how Britain became England.

During the fifth and sixth centuries the change from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England began. The eventual transformation was radical and complete, with a new name for the country and the people in it, a new language and a new culture. The process by which the change from Britain to England took place has little in the way of documentation, and any understanding must be gained by grasping at any source of evidence and by making deductions from this. The background to this development includes what was going on in the Roman Empire in the fourth and fifth centuries, and events in Britain at the end of Roman rule, then the arrival of people in the south of England who, according to the initial account as set out by Gildas in the sixth century, appear to have come initially as military men from the lands on the north-west coast of Germany, followed by settlers from these lands. Here and there a detail emerges which bridges the gap, tying the two eras together, and these details assume in their rarity a profound significance. One of these details is the place-name element **funta,* beginning as a Latin word and then ending as an element in a few Old English place-names, of which 21 are still in use today (Fig 1). This element must have been passed to the Germanic incomers by speakers of at least a little Latin which they had learned during the period of Roman Britain, and interaction between these peoples continues to be a subject of debate, provides the theme which underlies this thesis and forms the basis for this whole study. The overall aim of this study is to use the place-name element **funta* to provide material relevant to the debate about the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England, by understanding the significance of this element in the British/Anglo-Saxon interface and then in the Old English place-naming lexicon.

Such debate has been characterised for many years by differing interpretations of the evidence from the disciplines of history, archaeology and philology, expanded more recently by information from landscape history and genetics. Different perspectives emphasise different types of evidence and reach widely different conclusions on how the transition took place. There are three general models which explain this transition, a large-scale Germanic peasant settlement, a military or political imposition by a small warrior group or an absence of immigration but a cultural and linguistic change (Bassett 2000, 117). Recent studies have been more inclined to accept a more gradual change, although some still find evidence for fifth-century devastation (Collins and Gerrard 2004).

In this chapter the main strands of the debate about the transition will be considered, as a background to a closer look, in Chapter 3, at the places whose names still retain the element **funta,* which is an heirloom, not only from the days when Britain was part of the Roman Empire, but also from the days of the first interface between Briton and Anglo-Saxon, and is still a part of modern English whenever these places are mentioned. It is necessary to consider what late Roman Britain was like, and what the population was doing, what the incomers were like and how many there

were, when they came and for what reason, where they settled when they arrived, and what happened to the indigenous British (who provided the word which was to become **funta*). The question of cultural and linguistic change must be addressed, and the rôle of place-name study in understanding this change, and especially the reason for the survival of elements from pre-English speech, of which **funta* is one of the most puzzling.

The ending of Roman authority and post-Roman Britain.

During the third and fourth centuries the political situation in the western Empire was volatile, on the near Continent and no less so in Britain. A list of events from AD286 (Millett 1995, 22 – 25) shows continuing power struggles between the various military leaders through this part of the Empire, which was threatened on all frontiers by barbarian groups held back with difficulty by Roman troops. Each successive emperor was challenged by others seeking power, so that who was really in charge at any given time is often difficult to establish, and this was probably also a puzzle for their contemporaries (Mattingly 2007, 8 – 9, Table 1).

The attitudes to the Roman Empire taken by historians have changed through time, and have been influenced not only by the particular stance taken, but also by contemporary beliefs in relation to the concept of Empire itself (Mattingly 2006, 3 –5). Experience, point of view and contemporary events determine polarised attitudes as to whether an empire is "good" or "bad". Assumptions about the legitimacy and worth of imperial conquest colour what has been written about the Roman Empire and Roman Britain. During the time that the British Empire was seen as glorious, so the Roman Empire was admired (Haverfield 1915, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*). As the British Empire fragmented and became less a source of national pride, so attitudes to the might of Rome altered, the nature of imperialism itself came under scrutiny, and less partial accounts were written (Collingwood and Myres 1937, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*). The rights of the peoples subsumed under imperial rule began to be considered, and the varying benefits and disadvantages of belonging to a larger entity. The Roman conquest of Britain has recently been described as "no act of altruism" (Mattingly 2007, 355). These questions have been debated, in relation to Britain as a conquered province of Rome (ibid 3 – 20). Some of the élite in pre-Roman Britain welcomed Rome, as they stood to gain, some were anti-Rome. The Empire and its ending are now being addressed thematically in such terms as parallelism and difference (Wickham 2005, 14), or identity (Mattingly 2007, 18). An empire as geographically vast as the Roman Empire in west and east was intrinsically open to regional variation in the strength and weakness of its control. By the end of the fourth century the might of Imperial Rome in the west was facing serious threats from within and without.

The ending of Roman control in Britain is a "subject of few facts and many theories" (Mattingly 2007, 529). There were periods of chaos on the Continent, and in Britain as elsewhere the financial and taxation system collapsed and expenditure ceased, the market economy failed and the manufacture of pottery and other goods, which had been in decline for

some decades, effectively stopped. These developments seem to have happened relatively quickly in Britain, in comparison with elsewhere, and the general economic breakdown in this country followed the gradual ending of political control. It is difficult to date the changes in the economy, which rely largely, for their chronology, on coinage and pottery evidence. The import of coinage ceased before AD 410, and wheel-thrown pottery stopped by the mid- fifth century (White 2007, 21 – 24). A reversion to regionality was inevitable, following the withdrawal of overall control, but in the preceding decades there had been a gradual foreshadowing of this situation: Britain had been "fertile in usurpers", as Jerome said (Mattingly 2007, 529). Leaders continued to emerge, some with a nostalgia for *Romanitas,* especially in the west of the country, where the villa economy lasted longer than in the vulnerable east. As the political and social power of the aristocracy waned, so a military aristocracy began to emerge, as has been identified as a general trend across the lands of the erstwhile Empire (Wickham 2005, 829).

The political events in fifth-century Britain have been described as "deeply puzzling" (Wood 2004, 432). The visible features of *Romanitas,* especially as relating to the Church, still signified prestige, and there may have been an expectation of the return of Roman presence (White 2007, 20), but despite the appeal to Aetius for help against the Saxon raiders, there is no evidence of a universal wish in Britain to return to Roman rule, with its imposition of external control and heavy taxation demands in return for a protection which had failed.

Ecclesiastical contact with the Roman church in Gaul had been traditionally close (Wood 2004, 432, 440), and such contact continued well into the fifth century. The visit of St Germanus in 429 demonstrates not only that the church in Britain was considered important enough to be rescued from the threat of the recently-defined heresy of Pelagianism, but also that it had sufficient numbers of believers, and a sufficiently noteworthy saint, Alban, to make the journey of such a prestigious person worthwhile.

"Something dramatic happened to the basic fabric of all socio-economic activity in Britain, above all in the early fifth century" (Wickham 2005, 309). Life carried on, but in an insular, localised fashion. From the mid-fifth century the historical evidence fails and the only sources of knowledge are from archaeology and place-names. The towns which characterised the Roman way of life had changed during the fourth century, and the urban lifestyle of the heyday of such towns had become less prestigious, as testified by such things as black earth deposits. In some parts of Britain élite investment moved from the urban to the rural, and expenditure on civic architecture gave way in general to the expansion of villa building (White 2007, 101). To the west, towns such as Wroxeter retained an importance in the fifth century, perhaps connected with the Roman Church (ibid 205 – 6), but in some towns further east such as Verulamium and Canterbury, although there is archaeological evidence of occupation, this was in no way any style of living which might be termed urban, rather perhaps a continuation merely of occupation, as a result of convenience or inertia (Wood 2004, 429 – 30; Mattingly 2007, 533; Russell and Laycock 2010, 175). A similar picture emerges when villas are

examined. The estates to the west, for example Chedworth (Gloucs), continued to flourish (Fulford 2006), but in the south and east of Britain the picture is uneven.

This, then, is the picture of Britain into which newcomers from North West Germany arrived, regionally fragmented but not destroyed. "Life did not stop when the empire ended" (Wickham 2005, 830).

The *Adventus Saxonum vel Anglorum.*

Documentary evidence for the *Adventus*.

The main source of knowledge about the events of this period in Britain is the work of Gildas, who "stood at the crossroads of later Roman Britain" (Higham 1992, 161). He is the only British source, and the date at which he was writing his *De Excidio Britonum* (DEB) has been set at somewhere between AD 500 and the middle of the sixth century, depending on what may be deduced about his education and his knowledge of events (ibid 155 – 168). Gildas's account refers to the situation in Britain as he saw it, and his concerns for his country and his compatriots.

It was Gildas who wrote "the only surviving narrative history of fifth-century Britain" in the preface to *De Excidio Britonum* (Winterbottom 1978, 1), and his purpose was to deplore, rather than denounce, the ruin of Britain as he saw it, *deflendo potius quam declamando* (DEB 1; Winterbottom 1978, 23). According to Gildas, the ruin had been brought about by God in response to the wickedness of British rulers and churchmen. British leaders employed hated Saxon mercenaries, *ferocissimi illi nefandi nominis Saxones deo hominibus que invisi* (DEB 23; Winterbottom 1978, 97) who turned on them and took power. When Bede finished his *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* in c731, two centuries later, he used Gildas as a primary source (Sims-Williams 1983, 5 – 26), and when the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was begun, as far as is known towards the end of the ninth century, the compilers relied in their turn on Bede (ibid 26 – 41). Thus all accounts of the beginning of England and the English nation go back to Gildas, who appears to have had knowledge of a Saxon origin myth relating to their arrival in three ships (DEB 23; Winterbottom 1978, 97).

Bede was a primary source for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, adding to the information provided by Gildas. He introduced the AD dating system, and added names to some of the protagonists, together with a short family tree and information on where they originated, together with the detail of the three boats (HE 1, 15). Since Bede and the *Chronicle* rely on Gildas, all accounts of the beginning of England are broadly similar, but of course reflect the point of view of the narrator. The main phases in these accounts are, as in Gildas, the collapse of the power of Rome in Britain, with the concomitant weakness of any indigenous leader in the face of attack, one of whom, in the east of the country, invited in Saxon mercenaries. These mercenaries then turned on their employer and gradually they and their followers spread through the land.

The *Chronicle* set out its version using the annalistic format which had been unknown to Gildas (Yorke 1999, 25), which gives it a superior interest to the modern mind, but its dates are not to be taken as exact in any way. Its reliability was questioned as early as the mid-nineteenth century,

and it was pronounced "devoid of historical truth" (Kemble 1849, cited in Sims-Williams 1983, 1). Its value to the historian of the *adventus* has been questioned ever since (Sims-Williams 1983; Yorke 1993, 1999). Extra colour is lent to the tale by including the names provided by Bede which purport to emphasise the valour of the Saxons and the pusillanimity of the British. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) *sub anno* 449 gives an account of the above invitation by a leader here called Vortigern (the "proud tyrant" of Gildas) to a contingent of fighting men from north-west Germany under the leadership of Hengist ("stallion") and his brother Horsa ("horse") with the purpose of giving him support against the Picts. These colourful names may be those of euhemerised gods (Yorke 1993, 47). Recruiting from abroad was not a new idea, for there had been Germanic mercenaries in parts of the country in the late fourth century and it was Roman practice to enlist non-Roman mercenaries in the Empire (Higham 1992, 222 – 5). However, in the *Chronicle*'s account, after beating the Picts, these successful Germanic fighters turned against their erstwhile master, and sent home for reinforcements, telling them that the British were useless (presumably in battle) and the land was good:

Hi đa sende to Angle 7 heton heom sendan mare fultum 7 heom seggan Brytwalana nahtnesse 7 đæs landes cysta (ASC[A] *sa* 449).

This scenario seems to have taken place in Kent, for the places where they landed were all on the Kentish shore. Soon the Germanic people had spread out all across east Kent, killing the British opposition or driving them back into the protective walls of London (*sub anno* 457). The *Chronicle* tells similar tales of the arrival of other invaders and settlers along the south coast of Britain, often coming in contingents of three boats, as Gildas had stated, during the last part of the fifth century and into the sixth. There are also later accounts in the *Chronicle* of battles between newcomers and indigenes at Salisbury and at Barbury Castle on the Ridgeway, *sub annis* 552 and 556, after which there appears to have been a lull in any conflict in this part of the country. Whether this westward progress was as bloody as we are asked to believe is a matter of debate. It is notable that there is only one account of a battle in that part of the country where the **funta* names occur, in east Sussex near Eastbourne, *sub anno* 491. The British in the fort at *Andredesceaster* (Pevensey) are said to have been slaughtered.

These accounts cannot be taken at face value (Sims-Williams 1983; Yorke 1999), but were believed to be true by an earlier generation of historians.

Archaeological evidence for the *Adventus.*

In 1843 the British Archaeological Association was founded by Roach Smith and Wright, prompted by the increasing danger to archaeological sites from urban spread and railway construction, and local archaeological associations were formed by non-academic folk who were interested in what was being dug up in their area. However, the historical accounts of the *Adventus* dominated the interpretation of archaeological discoveries, and even after archaeology had become established as a separate academic discipline in the mid-nineteenth century, its purpose was still seen as a reinforcement of the historical narrative (Lucy 1998, 11 – 12). Archaeology was the handmaiden of history, seeking to explain its

discoveries in terms of the traditional story of the arrival of newcomers in the east of the country, and their gradual progress westward.

It was unclear from excavation whether the arrival of newcomers from the north-west Germanic homelands had been a process of invasion or migration, and in fact the written sources provide for both. Military conquest was believed to be indicated by the presence of weapons, but the archaeological evidence in East Anglia seemed to demonstrate "a number of independent folks" (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 390), the large cremation cemeteries appearing to begin in this area as they fell from use in the homelands (Lucy 2000, 164). Such folk movement would explain the presence of women, which was assumed from the jewellery in graves. On the other hand, archaeologists favouring the invasion theory saw the women as native British who had become wives of incomers (Leeds 1945, cited in Lucy 2000, 171).

As excavation continued, it became clear that the large cremation cemeteries in East Anglia were not the norm elsewhere in lowland Britain. In the south, especially south of the Thames, cemeteries are smaller, some containing mainly inhumations with a few cremations, some more truly mixed-rite (Hawkes 1986; Hills and O'Connell 2009). The smaller size suggests that these were the burial places of local communities rather than of large folk groups, who adapted their practice and who may have included warrior groups. Cremation was not the only rite on the continent: inhumation was practised in late Roman times, in this country and elsewhere, and furnished inhumation is known at this time in north Gaul (Higham 1992, 169, 225). Within a relatively small area in this country, burial practice may have varied from one cemetery to another, for example in East Yorkshire (Lucy 1998, 51 – 65, especially 65). To the west, grave goods may show a gradual influence both from within this country and from elsewhere, as well as amalgamation of practice, for example at Wasperton (Chapter 3, Area 10, and Appendix 1, 108). Such diversities make it difficult to paint any clear, simple picture of the dating or events of what it pleased Bede to call the *Adventus.*

During the early twentieth century the objects which were being found led to ideas of classification and typologies. Germanic-style artefacts, usually grave-goods, were taken to be clear evidence of new Germanic people, and dating was based on comparison with finds on the continent (Lucy 2000, 166 – 7). Artefacts were for many years believed to be indicators of the racial origin of the people in whose graves they were found, so Germanic-style pieces in furnished burial were thought to prove the presence of Germanic people. J N L Myres spent his career studying early Anglo-Saxon pottery, especially urn types, publishing from the 1930's and eventually, in 1969, his major work *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England*, with *A Corpus of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Pottery* appearing in 1977 (Lucy 2000, 13). His distribution maps of *Buckelurnen* (1954, 1969) sought to demonstrate that the spread of artefacts mirrored the advance of Germanic migration to the west (Hamerow 1994, 165). However, the presence of early fifth-century Germanic artefacts in areas such as the Upper Thames Valley, around Dorchester-on-Thames, was hard to explain in such a framework (Hawkes 1986).

Attempts were made to match the different types of artefact and decorative style to the different tribal origins of the newcomers as outlined by Bede, but it became clear that styles and types of brooch and pottery were often mixed, and it was suggested that Bede's named tribes may have been based on the political divisions of his own day (Lucy 2000, 168 – 9).

In some cases archaeology has supported the traditional tale of the settlement of England. For example, to the west of the Salisbury area and the Ridgeway no evidence is as yet known of any Germanic presence prior to the late seventh century, which accords with the *Chronicle*'s account. Thus archaeology to a certain extent appears to support the tales in the *Chronicle* which relate to the spread of Germanic settlement from the eastern seaboard towards the west. Accounts of the settlement in East Kent are in essence supported by rich finds in East Kent, and those of settlement in East Sussex by cemetery excavation between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, as far east as Eastbourne (Welch 1983; Richardson 2005).

As excavation increases and finds by metal detectorists multiply, theories develop as to the numbers, type, dispersal and provenance of immigrants into this country during the early Anglo-Saxon period. Possession of an item is no longer taken as an absolute indicator of identity, and change, adaptation and exchange are recognised as reasons for items being discovered in unexpected places. The concept of ethnicity as experienced and practised in these centuries of population movement appears to differ from our own.

The survival of the British.

Archaeological evidence and evidence of the British.

The discussion of the interface between indigene and newcomer has been viewed differently by historians and archaeologists through the twentieth century, and is still a matter of controversy in the twenty-first (Higham 2007). There are still uncertainties, and again each writer on the subject has his or her point of view: we will all bring our own experience and interest to an interpretation of any evidence. A critical history of the various approaches at various times gives a context to contemporary research, as well as explaining why the discipline has developed as it has, emphasising that all research is contextual and contingent on the situation of the researcher, whether present or past, or indeed future.

In the nineteenth century antiquarians, historians and archaeologists found no evidence of any British survival. These nineteenth-century scholars, such as Thomas Wright and Charles Roach-Smith believed that the artefacts, monuments and ritual practice which excavation was revealing showed that the Anglo-Saxons were the direct successors of the Romans and that the two cultures had mingled in a process of amicable relations. There was no place for the British; they were not only invisible but non-existent, an attitude which has been termed "strategic amnesia" (Williams 2007, 38), as the thinking of the time not only failed to find evidence of the British but sought not to find it. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, history and origin myths had dominated any evidence from excavation, but by this time historical sources were being questioned, as exemplified by the words of Kemble quoted above. However he, and the historians of the Oxford School such as Freeman, Stubbs and Green were

still Germanist in attitude, dominated by the notion of racial characteristics and the superiority of the assumed Teutonic basis of the English nation. In such a climate the British were viewed with disfavour (Lucy 1998, 9 – 11).

Debate about British survival began in the mid-nineteenth century, and towards the end of the century different approaches, which to a later mind appear more rigorous, were adopted as archaeology began to separate from history (Lucy 1998, 5, 11). The notion of a British survival in the face of a Germanic migration could now be accepted. Freeman's ideas changed over the course of twenty years, from a denial of any British apart from slaves (1869), to an insistence on a "large British element" (1888) (quoted in Lucy 1998, 11). Gradually in the twentieth century the question of a British survival took hold, and what became of them:

..it is probable that the greater part of them were absorbed by degrees into the population of the English settlements, and that in this way a stream of Romano-Celtic history and tradition mingled with the life of England (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 319).

E T Leeds, whose *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* was published in 1936, believed that a native substrate presence was evidenced by the penannular brooches which were being found in cemeteries (Lucy 1998, 14). F M Stenton's monumental work, *Anglo-Saxon England,* (1943) reflected a reliance on historical sources, but admitted the possibility of a native survival.

It is in the context of a search for British survival that King Arthur re-emerged as a British hero, from Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* in the second part of the nineteenth century to the novels of TH White. His first novel about Arthur, *The Sword in the Stone,* was published in 1939, and the full telling of the Arthurian legend, *The Once and Future King,* was published in 1958, both books becoming very popular.

After World War II more sophisticated excavation techniques and more detailed recording methods were developed, which allowed more refined questions to be asked of the data. For the early medieval period new methods were sought in an attempt to try to identify the survival of a British population in the fifth and sixth centuries. Archaeological evidence was interrogated, to provide insight into the situation of the indigenous population at the time of, and following, the *Adventus,* and the interface between the two peoples, but it became evident that it was often impossible to be certain whether the evidence revealed by excavation related to indigene or newcomer. The evidence from cemeteries sought at first to distinguish the British by concentrating on details of bodily orientation and position, as well as grave goods. Prone and crouched burials were initially believed to indicate indigenous inhumation, and were sought in areas where indigenous survival may have been assumed (eg Faull 1977), since extended supine burials were believed to have been the usual Anglo-Saxon rite. However, reliance on bodily position in inhumation burials has now been abandoned as an indicator, as crouched and prone burials have been found in migration period burials across England and on the Continent (Hamerow 1994, 167). Grave goods also were taken as an indicator of the ethnic affiliation of the deceased, as Leeds had assumed for penannular brooches, but such a blanket assertion disregarded any possibility of any type of exchange mechanism (ibid). In rare cases it has been argued that

cemeteries contain a native group that can be identified as separate from the Anglo-Saxons, but such evidence is often ambiguous. For example, in the area near Chadshunt (Chapter 3, Area 10) the cemetery at Wasperton shows use both in late Romano-British time, with features such as the presence of hobnails and north-south orientation, and also in the early Anglo-Saxon period, with distinctive grave goods and south-north or west-east orientation. Some graves show an amalgamation of practice, making it difficult to assign them to a specific culture. This, and other cemeteries in the area, suggest an early, peaceful co-existence of people in contact with various regions and cultures. (Full details are given in Appendix 1, 107 – 9).

Earlier scholars had turned to skeletal remains to try to identify separate ethnic groups. It was especially believed that skull shape and stature could demonstrate the presence of indigenes (eg Putnam, 1984, and Harke, 1989, both quoted in Hamerow 1994, 168) but these are no longer believed to be reliable indicators, as recent sociological and anthropological research has shown that there is no necessary connection between skeletal data and racial or ethnic origin (Lucy 2000, 74). However, new techniques are becoming available. Recent studies, such as that by Budd et al (2004) have used stable oxygen, and to a lesser extent strontium, isotope analysis of suitable skeletal material to investigate population movement by identifying first generation immigrants. Results can be used to test assumptions based on the grounds of burial rite and grave goods. However, although the process is "technically difficult, labour intensive and expensive" (ibid 139), some conclusions may be reached. Population movement appears to have been possible, both into and within sub-Roman Britain (ibid 139). An example of the process was the use of strontium isotope analysis carried out on tooth enamel from a female buried in the third quarter of the fifth century at Weston Colley, Hants, whose grave contained a variety of goods from different locations, especially brooches paralleled in the Saxon homelands. The analysis demonstrated that her childhood was spent in Hampshire, so she was the child either of a native family who had adopted a Saxon culture, or of a family who had immigrated during the first quarter of the fifth century (Stoodley 2011, especially 52 – 3). In this way previous ideas are challenged and knowledge expands.

In addition to cemetery evidence, archaeologists have sought to discover signs of the British population in settlements, where evidence of a native influence in building design and technology might be seen. It has traditionally been thought that the sunken-featured building in this country was the insular version of the Continental *Grubenhaus*, used for storage or craft purposes, and such buildings are to be found on sites even into the mid-Saxon period, as at Little Somborne in the Test valley. Structures resembling sunken-featured buildings have been found on late Roman sites; for example at Poundbury, Dorset, two buildings were excavated with sunken floors (Eagles 1994, 19), but these appear to belong to a different tradition of timber structures with pits which occur in this country during the Roman period, used for storage or the processing of crops (Tipper 2004, 7 – 10). It must be concluded that no sunken-featured buildings of the continental type are known in this country prior to the migration period;

they only occur across England in the fifth century, and the continental pedigree of Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured buildings is not in question, though building style is no indicator of the native origin of the builder or the occupant (Hamerow 2002, 48; Tipper 2004, 10).

The settlement pattern in north-west Germany demonstrates that most settlements were villages or hamlets made up of similarly-sized farms, though at Feddersen Wierde and Vorbasse there may be evidence of a larger farmstead occupied by people of a higher status (*Herrenhof*). The main type of residence was the longhouse, with a complex internal arrangement and animal stalls. The interior of the longhouse was divided lengthwise by two rows of posts, which thus created a central hall with an aisle on either side. The living area, usually to the west, had a hearth and compartments, with animal stalls at the east end, and two opposing doorways gave entrance (Hamerow 2002, 12 – 15). Such buildings are not found in England, and this has previously been believed to indicate a lack of Anglo-Saxon influence in building style. In its place is the smaller open hall which was built with a wall-post construction, giving a single room, sometimes with a subdivision, but no provision for animals, which may therefore have wintered outside or in other quarters. If sheep were the preferred flock, they would have required less winter shelter. It has been thought that, just as there are no known examples of the longhouse in this country, so the byre-less wall-post house was a solely insular development. However, as excavation continues, such structures are increasingly found on the continent (Hamerow 2002, 48). Building styles were changing on the Continent in the fifth century, possibly to accommodate new farming practices or social needs, and buildings in this country appear to show hybridisation (Hamerow 2002, 15, 47, 51, 97 - 9). It becomes increasingly difficult to separate the strands of development of vernacular timber building in this country in the early medieval period, and to isolate any feature as British or Germanic (Dixon 1982).

Although at first glance the sites in England appear to differ from those in north-west Germany, when other factors are considered which relate to the drastic change in circumstance during the fifth and sixth centuries, settlement sites in the homelands and in England begin to resemble each other more (Hamerow 2002, 93 - 99). Details from relatively few settlement sites in England have been made available, but similarities to the sites in north-west Germany have been noticed, in terms of layout and size of buildings. There may have been similarities between the social and economic levels of the peasant cultures of the homelands and sub-Roman Britain which would have made it difficult to separate the two groups of people in settlement excavation, as it seems that they may have merged with little difficulty. Such features of settlement layout and building style seem to indicate not only an interchange of ideas, but also a similarity of social make-up in the settlement and a similarity of occupation and culture (ibid 93 - 94). As an immigrant population would have needed to adapt to changing circumstances, a resident population may have been open to new ideas in building, as to new fashion in ornament and burial rite (ibid 50 – 1).

There is little portable material cultural evidence which indicates a continuing indigenous culture or lifestyle, but this may be misleading. It is

suggested that the economic crisis which had begun in the last years of the fourth century meant that any surviving cultural traces were carefully-preserved, patched-up items of a Romano-British style, and even if new artefacts were produced, they would not survive, if they were totally organic, of wood or leather (Higham 1992, 216; White 2007, 24 – 5). The archaeological record of the British in the later fifth century is "a set of disconnected fragments" (Wickham 2005, 307 – 8).

There is some evidence that native metalworking practices continued in some parts of Britain, for example the production of certain penannular brooches, the details of which indicate that production in this country continued from the Roman period well into the post-Roman era (White 2007, 21 – 23). These techniques and styles appear to have influenced the production of Anglo-Saxon artefacts. The techniques included enamelling, which is found on the escutcheons of hanging bowls, found in the east from north Humberside to Kent (Laing 2007), and on certain Anglo-Saxon brooches, such as saucer brooches (Scull 1985), found especially in East Anglia. Native metalworking traditions may also have contributed to the production of some types of artefacts, such as the disc brooch (Dickinson 1979),which is found widely in female Saxon burials. The British influence may have spread from the west of the country, perhaps through the exchange of gifts such as hanging bowls, while items in the east may have been produced by local craftsmen using native practices (Scull 1985).

It is noticeable that the presence of early Anglo-Saxons is found regularly in close proximity to Roman sites. It may be that settlement in a place where the land had been worked and local services were available was more attractive than the prospect of clearing new ground, or it may be that newcomers were given permission to settle by a continuing indigenous authority. A notable example is Winchester, where early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries are close to the city wall. In this case the Latin name persisted and the road north to the Dever valley provided another benefit left from Roman times. At Orton Hall Farm near Peterborough the takeover of site, buildings and methods is so obvious that a handover by the Romano-British has been suggested, though not proved (Mackreth 1996, 23).

Attitudes to the migration of the Anglo-Saxons and the survival of the native population have been influenced by changes in archaeological theory. Invasion models were challenged by notions of social and cultural adaptation as impersonal processes ("processual"), soon challenged in their turn by the notion of human volition ("post-processual") as an agent for change (Lucy 1998, 17; Hines 2004, 17). At the moment any shred of evidence is to be considered in this "series of major disjunctions" (Higham 2007, 14).

<u>The position of the Britons in Anglo-Saxon England: evidence from law and language.</u>

Where migration has been accepted, there have been varying estimates of the relative numbers of Britons and newcomers in this country in the fifth century. The proportion will, of course, vary according to geography, and various figures have been suggested, for example 1 newcomer to 4 indigenes (Ward-Perkins 2000, 523), or 1 newcomer to 10

indigenes (Wickham 2005, 312). The question of the numbers of newcomers and what sort of people they were has been explored in detail (Higham 2007, 1 – 15), and the answers to this question range from an idea of large numbers of peasant farmers (the Germanist view) to a small number of élite aristocratic leaders (the élite dominance theory) or a mixture of both (Wickham 2005, 311 – 2). This numbers debate has been termed "somewhat pointlessly disputed" (Hines 1994, 49), and alongside these polarised views of the numbers involved, it is perhaps easier, and less controversial, to speak of a "successful fusion of two peoples" (Bassett 1989, 4). The notion of fusion, which was suggested by Myres (above) has been explored in some detail (Woolf 2007), setting forth a suggested model which explains the gradual assimilation of the British, as inferiors, into the fabric of society via Anglo-Saxon households, which functioned in this way as "ethnic sausage machines" (ibid 129), recycling and combining the British genetic material whilst preserving Anglo-Saxon social superiority.

The notion of unequal fusion is indicated in the laws of Ine in the late seventh century, where the British are specifically mentioned in the legislation. If the British are there in the seventh century, they cannot have been eradicated in the fifth or sixth centuries. The term *wealh* used in Ine's law-code also by this time indicates slavery (see Appendix 2, 144) so cannot be used as an exclusively ethnic indicator. However, these laws testify to two facts, first, that there was indeed a group of people known as British, and then, that this group was of inferior status, since their *wergeld* is in all cases lower than that of the Saxons. The protection of the law shows that they were a recognisable group within society, though stigmatised (Grimmer, 2007). The question of annihilation is thereby refuted. The date of Ine's laws, somewhere between 688 and 693, coincides with the period when a West Saxon advance to the west is believed to have taken place (Woolf 2007, 120), and the high-status burial on Swallowcliffe Down, Wilts, also dates to this period (see Chapter 3, Area 1). As the advance continued, more British areas would have been annexed by the West Saxons, so the laws would have been formulated to cover the people here, who would probably have had no other option than to accept them.

Just as there appeared to earlier archaeologists to be a lack of material evidence of the British, so this lack appeared to be paralleled by a lack of Brittonic words in Old English, and a small number of surviving pre-English place-names in the Old English onomastic corpus. This, too, is now being challenged. These linguistic facts are considered in Chapter 2, and continue to provoke not only debate but also polarised viewpoints and deductions about the number and type of people who came from north-west Germany to settle in what had been Britain. The origins of place-names too are a matter of debate and uncertainty, as without definitive early forms elements may derive from various roots, and this is illustrated in many instances in the discussions in Chapter 3.

The belief that there were no indigenous Britons left in this country after the withdrawal of Roman authority has been favoured in the past (above) and is still advocated by some place-name scholars (Coates 2007a), though now largely abandoned by historians and archaeologists. This belief, of an absence of British people, is based on the incontrovertible fact that there is a virtual absence of Brittonic words in Old English. Such an

absence cannot at the moment be paralleled by linguistic evidence elsewhere in any similar situation, and so the suggested reason is that there is no remnant of Brittonic language in Old English because when Old English was developing, there were no speakers of any British language left in the area. The British, therefore, are held to have been wiped out, or driven out, by the Germanic invaders. Any Britons who remained were enslaved, and therefore were effectively silenced; they may have been there but they had no voice and were not heard, so effectively absent (ibid 189). The theories relating to low status and enslavement are plausible because British are there, named in the laws of Ine, in the late seventh century, though British names of leaders in the royal house of Wessex suggest that not all British people were of low staus (Coates 1991b). The British are also named in place-names with the elements *w(e)alh* or *cumbre*, as if they were in their own enclaves. Evidence demonstrates that the British were there and cannot have been totally eradicated.

The lack of Brittonic words in old English refers only to lexical items. Lexical borrowing is the most basic indication of contact between two languages (McMahon 1994, 201) and occurs commonly for many reasons. However, there is more recent research which demonstrates that traces of the indigenous language re-surfaced at a morpho-syntactic level much later, in Middle English, indicating that the indigenous language did not vanish, but that there was indeed contact between Old English and Brittonic. Thus this contact is shown in the use of syntactic devices rather than at the level of the lexis (Schrijver 2002; 2007; Tristram 2007). Again this indicates that the British, and their language, had not vanished.

An important part of the debate on the presence, absence and status of the British in early England is the presence of pre-English place-names, and place-name elements, which are to be found in almost all areas of lowland Britain. There are more of these than might be imagined, and must have been passed on to the Germanic newcomers by word-of-mouth contact. These place-names are important for understanding the hotly-debated events of the fifth and sixth centuries, which is why they are given such prominence in the discussion of the areas in Chapter 3. The increasingly numerous known examples of pre-English names demonstrate more and more that there was indeed a British survival. These survivors would have been the "locals who knew, managed and worked the land and transmitted the local names to the early Anglo-Saxon newcomers" (Coates and Breeze 2000, 8). British speech itself appears to have continued well into the early Anglo-Saxon period, but Celtic (pre-English) names are not always to be taken as evidence for Celtic survival (ibid, 8 – 12).

Distribution maps show that such pre-English names may be found in clusters, and are more numerous as a westward progression is made across the country. A similar situation is to be found in river-names, with more rivers having pre-English names the further west in the country they are (Jackson 1953, 220). This phenomenon is hardly surprising, considering the evidence from history and archaeology which demonstrates westward movement of Anglo-Saxon settlement and culture. Many river-names are cognate with river-names on the Continent, and further afield, often referring to gods but also at times defying an understanding of any sort of meaning. In the case of place-names, the pre-English elements

which survive often refer to natural features such as a hill (*pen*) or a wood (*ced*), for which the Old English place-name corpus has its own term. The continued use of these pre-English place-names indicates at least a British survival, perhaps even in places a British dominance (Chapter 3, Area 3; Appendix 2, 161 – 172). Their occurrence in close proximity to other place-names of Old English origin is also important (see Appendix 2, 152, especially the entry for *wīchām*).

Occasionally, among these pre-English place-names, a Latin word or element is found, a souvenir of the days when a few, some or most people in this country spoke Latin. Latin-derived names for the towns of Roman Britain are still used, especially where the element *caestre* is incorporated, such as Winchester, Gloucester etc, the first element also deriving from the Latin name. A few, a very few, place-name elements are from ordinary Latin words, often in rural situations, and usually the significance of these elements is obvious, but there is one such element whose significance has never yet been satisfactorily explained. This is the Old English element **funta*, derived from the Late Latin word *fontāna.* The transition of the word, from one culture to another which was very different, epitomises the change from Britain as a Roman province to early Anglo-Saxon England in the areas where it is found, and explaining this transition shares the difficulties and pitfalls of any other approach to ascertaining what went on in these hazy times.

The reason for the use of this element, its derivation and the ways in which it changed its form and significance are the point and focus of this study. It must have had a special place in the language of the dealings between indigene and incomer and goes beyond the discussion of numbers to provide a further illustration of the fusion of the two. The questions to be asked are what was a **funta*? It was more than just an ordinary spring (*fontāna*), so in what way did it need a new name? What did it signify? How did its significance change, and did such significance continue beyond the early Anglo-Saxon period?

In the next chapter the question of language in this period of accommodation will be addressed, to situate the word in its context, before looking at each of the names in which this element still survives.

Chapter 2.

Language use in fifth-century Britain, the influence of Latin and the early development of Old English, with reference to the place-name element **funta*.

Somewhere, in the hazy chiaroscuro of the events of the fifth century in Britain, lies the origin of the Old English place-name element **funta*, which is still in use today. The reason for the initial use of the element is as yet unclear, yet it bridges the gap between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England, a link between languages, cultures and peoples. Few such links are available for investigation, so **funta* is extremely important. The aim of this chapter is to consider the linguistic background against which **funta* came into use.

All studies agree that the Old English element **funta* was a loan from Late Latin *fontāna,* "spring". Derivatives of the Latin word are found in modern Romance languages, for example in modern French *fontaine*, previously "spring", now more usually "receptacle for holding liquid, tap" and so on. However, the word is found as a place-name element in no other region where West Germanic languages were spoken apart from English, and is therefore classed as an insular loan. Such a loan probably occurred in the early period of migration by Germanic people into Britain, and their settlement in the Lowland part of the country.

To date no satisfactory explanation of the significance of the element in the Old English place-name system has been found, or indeed the reason why the element should have been chosen in the first place, and what is more, why it should have continued to be used. Old English had its own very specific words for springs, watery places, sources of streams, types of streams etc. The fact that the word is of Latin origin is an added complication, when the Brittonic language also had its own toponyms, many of which survive in pre-English place-names, which are discussed as appropriate in the context of each **funta* name in Chapters 3 and 4. There is no immediately obvious reason why a Latin word would have been chosen. Thus discussion of the choice, origin, use, meaning and significance of the word involves a consideration of who spoke what language in fifth-century Britain, and unfortunately there is very little evidence on which to base such a discussion. Any investigation of the element must therefore take into account which languages were spoken in Britain at this time, and who spoke these languages. It is also necessary to consider the influence of Rome at this time, and the power and might of the Western Imperial machine, which may have necessitated certain usages of Latin, and, further, what type of Latin was in use, for Imperial business such as the daily workings of taxation and army payment, and any other transactions. The other side of everyday normal communication would have been the use of the indigenous language of the British people. Then the way the element entered the emerging Old English language must be considered, and, of course, any reason why Old English needed such a word for a place-name.

The background to all this was the situation in Britain and in the Western Empire in the fifth century, when Imperial power was challenged in Britain and elsewhere, and troops had gradually been withdrawn from Britain to fight on the Continent, so that as time went on the might of Rome diminished and Britain's position on the edge of the Empire once again became a crucial factor (Chapter 1). The fifth century in Britain was a period of turmoil and change, from its position at the beginning of the century as officially part of the Empire, to becoming a divided land of wide variation in political organisation and local culture. Its spoken language changed, as new people migrated from the near Continent, bringing their own Germanic tongues to mix with whatever the indigenes spoke, and then to mix together to begin to form a new language which would be Old English. Debate still rages as to what happened to the British people, as their language was almost entirely eradicated (Higham 2007), but they are still evident in later law codes, and indeed their presence is still evidenced every time certain place-names are used, such as Walton, Cumberton etc. in which the elements *wealh* and *cumbre* indicate a British presence. The element *wealh* occurs also in some high-status personal names (Appendix: elements) which could conceivably be used in a place-name, though none has emerged in the present study (Sims-Williams 1990, 24).

The linguistic background in fifth-century Britain is the setting for any discussion of the significance and use of the Latin word which became Old English **funta.* Latin was still used in written form, by scholars and ecclesiastics, and some Latin words must have been used in speech. However, the incoming Germanic people had no written language, so any linguistic intercourse between them and the British would have been in a spoken medium. Part 1 of this chapter will consider the spoken language, examining the extent and type of Latin used, and any changes which may be evidenced by philologists. Any evidence of the Brittonic language is also important, and its interface with Latin. Part 2 will consider the element **funta,* examining the detail of previous studies of the element as a base from which to advance the present study. This part will also include a discussion of the phonological and morphological changes which must have taken place as the word altered through time, and in what form it entered Old English. Part 3 will address the issue of the disappearance of the indigenous language of the British and the emergence of Old English as the general language of this country. Finally there is a short discussion on the significance of watery places in fifth-century Britain, and then the modern forms of **funta* will be set out.

These disparate investigations will, perhaps, illuminate what a **funta* was, and why a new word was needed.

1. Spoken Language in fifth-century Britain.

By the end of the century the Old English language was beginning to develop, but the indigenous British still had their own tongue, which may be called *Brittonic* or *British*. *Brittonic*, or *Brythonic*, is defined as "an overarching term for the language spoken by the Britons before the Roman Conquest and all its daughter languages", whereas *British* was "the Celtic language spoken by the Britons" (Charles-Edwards 2003, 299). Thus *Brittonic* is a more general term, including Celtic languages in Britain and in Continental Europe, whereas *British* relates specifically to the language spoken in Britain. However, since there are difficulties in separating geographically and temporally the uses of these languages, *Brittonic* tends to be the term of general use, avoiding a need to be over-exact (Coates and Breeze 2000, 264).

The first detailed assessment of language usage in Roman Britain was made by Jackson (1953), who set out a clear definition of the pre-English language situation. He uses *British* as general term for the Brittonic (Celtic) spoken from the Iron Age to the sub-Roman period of the fifth and early sixth centuries (ibid 4 – 5). According to the linguistic changes taking place, *Early British* is the name given to the language spoken in the long period until the mid-fifth century, *Late British* that given to the language spoken from the mid-fifth century until the early sixth century, a short period during which change was rapid. Other insular Celtic languages developed in the fifth and sixth centuries, and Welsh, Cornish and Breton separated off during the sixth century. They are known as *Primitive* until a written form appeared during the eighth or ninth centuries, when they are described as *Old* (ibid 690).

Since Jackson's work, other theories have been put forward. The indigenous language spoken by the inhabitants of Lowland Britain in the post-Roman period has also been named *Primitive Welsh* (Gelling 1993, 53) and developments in Welsh are frequently cited as evidence for developments in Brittonic. Some authorities believe that, while Britain was under Roman rule, the language of the Empire exerted a considerable influence on what was spoken in that part of the country which had a close contact with Rome (Charles-Edwards 2003, 299; Schrijver 2002, 2007). It has also been suggested that there was an actual British Latin, a sort of differentiated Vulgar Latin which developed in Britain (Jackson 1953, 5, 97 - 112), which has been discussed at length by scholars (Hamp 1975, Gratwick 1982, Russell 1985). Any Vulgar Latin spoken in Britain is now believed to have been very similar to that spoken in Gaul, and perhaps identical, as time went on, to proto-Gallo-Roman (Rivet and Smith 1979, 18; Schrijver 2007, 168 – 9, 171 and below). It was formerly believed that Vulgar Latin was not affected by local indigenous speech, but it is now known that there were local differences across the extent of the Empire (Herman 1967, 115 – 120).

As well as the uncertainty over the degree of influence of Latin on British speech, and whether there was an insular Vulgar Latin, opinions also vary widely as to the degree of actual spoken Latin which occurred in late Roman Britain, and its survival into post-Roman times. Some authorities believe that by the fifth century very few people in Britain spoke any Latin at all (Jackson 1953, 261; Gelling 1977, 12), while others

are of the opinion that it was the current language of the man in the street, with a "widespread and unstable bilingualism" as the order of the day, and even that a Latin monolingualism was predominant (Schrijver 2002, 87; 2007,165, 170).

It is at the moment impossible to be certain on this point, so it is appropriate to consider the other factors which would have influenced the use of language. The social situation in late Roman Britain varied across the country, and it is, in fact, necessary to consider all aspects of life in Britain at that time, as conditions across even the Lowland Zone were by no means homogenous. There were geographical variations, especially between north and south, and east and west, with different degrees of Roman influence being felt at different levels of society, which led to social differences too. Conditions varied according to urban, rural or villa location, military or civilian environment, mercantile, industrial or agricultural occupation. Each had its effect on the degree of intercourse between indigenous Briton and Roman bureaucracy and authority, and thus on the need of the indigene to be able to communicate in speech with the people vested with that authority, and whether such authority figures were indigenous or foreign. At the most basic rural level, a British labourer probably had no need at all to speak any sort of Latin, whereas in a town it was perhaps necessary to be in some degree bilingual. The wealthier classes sent their sons to school, where formal instruction was in Latin, and it is likely that there were different gradations of the spoken Latin language according to class as well as to situation, which makes it impossible to describe such a language in absolute terms (Hamp 1975, 152). In places, such as the West Sussex coastal plain near Fishbourne and the early villas, Latin might have been chosen by the élite as a status symbol (Rudling 1998, 44 – 6). According to Jackson, Latin was the language of government, administration, army, trade, Christian religion and urban life. In the countryside the upper classes were bilingual but the peasantry spoke British and probably knew little Latin. Since the Roman state was predicated on urban centres, with rural produce being marketed there and converted into coinage for taxation purposes, this picture appears reasonable. It may have been that, since Britain was on the edge of the Empire, any spoken Latin may have been archaic and pedantic (Jackson 1953, 105, 108 – 112), though this is an assumption.

Written language often follows spoken language, with developments and changes in the spoken language being found repeated when they have gained credibility, and evidence for any discussion of British spoken Latin lies mostly in inscriptions and in loan-words. Inscriptions are few compared with elsewhere in the Empire, and the known inscriptions are mainly from the west of the British Isles, where language change was later than in the east, following the events of the Germanic incursus. They are often of a Christian character (Jackson 1953, 149-193). Such evidence from inscriptions is discussed by Charles-Edwards (2003, 8), one example being an inscription from Penmachno, south Snowdon, referring to a person called Cantiori:

CANTIORI HIC IACIT
VENEDOTIS CIVE FUIT

(Cantiori lies here he was a citizen of Gwynedd)

The use of *hic iacit* is evidence of Christianity. The question of the date of these inscriptions has been considered in two ways. Jackson (1953) and Nash-Williams (1950) used the epigraphy to date the phonological change; Sims-Williams (2003) uses the known chronology of sound change to date the epigraphy (ibid 7). Many inscriptions contain evidence of more than one change, so the process is complex. For example, the personal name above, CANTIORI, may reflect loss of final syllables, but may also be a genitive of *Cantiorius.* Such ambiguity leads to an uncertain chronology (ibid 34 [14]).

Attempts have been made to assess the influence of Brittonic on English. The most basic level of influence is lexical, and very few Brittonic words, or place-names, exist in Old English, though it has been suggested (Breeze 2003) that there are more Celtic (Brittonic) loan-words in English than have been recognised, with examples from Old, Middle and Early Modern English. Comparisons have been sought in other situations of language contact where a political takeover has been imposed, but none compares with what happened between Brittonic and Old English (Coates 2007a). The superstratum of Old English brought about an almost total lexical change in the indigenous British speech. Though this explains what happened in general terms, it shows that **funta* is a rare example of a substrate word adapted into the lexicon of the superstrate language, and therefore very important. Insular Celtic may have had an insidious underlying structural effect on the emergent English tongue, which is revealed much later in Middle English as a transitional stage. A particular instance of the posited syntactic influence of Brittonic on Old and Middle English is discussed by Vennemann (1999). Both Modern English and Modern Welsh lack the external possessor (sympathetic dative, attributive dative or dative of possession) construction, whereas other Germanic, Romance and Celtic languages use it, and it appears to be a common Indo-European feature. In modern French, an example of this usage, which is more assertive than a normal genitive, is a construction such as *C'est à moi ce chapeau!* Vennemann calls this asymmetric mutual influence a "rule of thumb, provided by the general theory of language contact" (Vennemann 2002, 228).

If British Latin had indeed been widespread, there would have been an interface and a reciprocal influence between it and Brittonic (Schrijver 2007, 165). There would also have been a phonological interface. For example, the Vulgar Latin vowel system in general loses the distinctive quantity oppositions of Classical Latin in favour of a use of quality, ie in Classical Latin vowel length was phonemically and semantically distinctive (Herman 1967, 27 – 38). This point may be important for a discussion of **funta,* as the long /a/ in *fontāna* may, by this reasoning, have become a more indeterminate, less accented, vowel by the fifth century and so more readily susceptible to syncope. It may be suggested that Brittonic was spoken with a Latin accent, and that British Latin was the mediator of Brittonic into Old English (Schrijver 2002, 101 – 3; 2007, 170).

The evidence of Latin loan-words is difficult to assess, as at the moment it is believed that very few entered Old English, and those which appear in Welsh do not concern the present argument. Some Latin loan-words were taken into some Germanic languages as a result of contact with

the Empire; only a small group exist solely in Old English (see Appendix 1, 148 – 152, entries for *wīc* and *castra*). Any Latin words in Old English which exist as place-name elements must not be confused with later borrowings of a scholastic or ecclesiastical nature. There is also the possibility that Latin words found their way into Old English via other Romance tongues. It is safe to say that each word must be considered by itself, and place-name elements are dealt with individually by place-name scholars.

However, Schrijver, who postulates that a homogeneous variety of Latin developed in North West Europe and Lowland Britain during the latter part of the Empire, has explored in great detail the phonological and morphosyntactical changes which took place as British Latin became the language of choice in Britain (Schrijver 2002, 89 – 108). He suggests that this was identical to the form of Latin spoken in the North Sea basin. He advances a compelling developmental theory that, in the first few centuries AD, a variety of Celtic was spoken in the North Sea basin. This Celtic tongue is called by him North Sea Celtic, which survives in Welsh, Cornish and Breton. However, in an area corresponding to the modern Netherlands, Belgium, north-west France and Lowland Britain it gradually gave way to the pervasive influence of Latin, which superseded it and became a local variety of Vulgar Latin, which he calls North West Romance, spoken in these areas. After the fourth century, as the Germanic settlers advanced westward, they came into contact with these speakers of North West Romance, which survives as the French spoken in modern north-west France.

However, in the Low Countries and in the lowland area of Britain, North West Romance gave way to Germanic speech, and Saxon, Kentish, Coastal Dutch and Frisian emerged. In Lowland Britain, as the Old English language developed, it resisted the substrate influence both of North West Romance, which was spoken here, and of any remaining Brittonic. Unfortunately, Schrijver advances no theory as to why the Germanic languages should have resisted so successfully the substrate influence of Brittonic and Romance, and this omission is still to be found in later work (Schrijver 2007, 172). Such a lacuna may correspond with the theory that there was no substrate influence because the British people were not there (Coates 2007a, 191).

Apart from the phonological and morphological analysis, Schrijver's hypothesis is based on the assumption that since Latin was so pervasive and influential elsewhere in the Empire, a similar situation must have obtained in Britain. The hypothesis is extended to suggest that during the Imperium, a large number of Latin loan-words filtered into Brittonic, but also that at a deeper level morphosyntactical influence was becoming important. However, just as this process was gaining strength, the might of the Roman Empire dwindled and Latin became less prestigious. Brittonic became more important as a linguistic medium, and so the development of a true Vulgar Latin was averted (Schrijver 2002, 87 - 8). This may help to fill the gap in the theory of the lack of influence from Romance and Brittonic, and the reason why Germanic was so linguistically imposing.

When the Anglo-Saxons arrived in Britain, the linguistic situation was mixed, according to the social and geographical situation of the

speaker(s). The interaction of incomer and indigene continues to be debated at length and in depth. Reasons why Old English became the language of prestige and preference are discussed elsewhere (Gelling 1993; Hines 1994; Ward-Perkins 2000; Higham 2007; and see below). However, the genesis of **funta* as a place-name element lies in the interaction of the Germanic-speaking incomers with indigenous people who saw fit to use a Latin word to designate a particular place. Having been accepted and adopted by the incomers, the word then became subject to the morphological and phonological rules of the emerging Old English language, and any consideration of its origin or previous development was no longer relevant.

What has been outlined above is the background for the existence of the word in fifth- and sixth-century communication, and considerations as to why a Latin word existed at all in Britain and who may have used it when talking to new people.

2. The element **funta.*

The place-name element **funta* developed in Old English and derives from Latin usage in Britain. No equivalent loan is so far found in other Germanic languages. The element lies at the intersection of three language families within the broad Indo-European family. These are Germanic, which includes Old English, Italic, which includes Latin, and Celtic, which includes British and other neo-Celtic languages such as Welsh, Breton etc (Charles-Edwards 2003, 299-300).

In English, this intersection took place as a result of the Germanic incursion into Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries, as the Germanic-speaking incomers came into contact with the indigenous British speakers, who had themselves had long contact with the Latin language of the Roman Empire. The context and closeness of such contact are debatable, and probably varied greatly according to locality and date. The use of the element **funta*, together with a few other Latin elements (Gelling 1977), bears witness to at least some spoken contact at a local level between indigenous British and spoken Latin, then eventually contact with speakers of the new Old English language, as the element derives ultimately from Latin and was adopted by Old English speakers, though by the time Old English had developed in this country Roman authority had been withdrawn.

It is generally accepted that **funta* derives from the Late Latin *fontāna*, a late Latin word used in fifth-century Britain. **funta* is found only in Old English charters, and then only, to date, in oblique forms for example in Wiltshire charters *fobbefunte, fobbanfuntan boc* (S 364 AD 901) and *iuxta tefuntam, be tefunte, to teofunte, on funtnesford* (S326 AD 860). It now continues in Modern English as a rare and often strongly altered place-name element (Ekwall 1922, 103; Smith 1956, 189; Gelling 1977, 1978; Gelling and Cole 2000, 17 - 18). The question of the element's significance may provoke debate. Even though Jackson refers to **funta* as an "Anglo-Saxon common noun" (Jackson 1953, 680-1), it is not known to have been part of the Old English lexis, and hence is preceded by an asterisk. It is safer to say that **funta* has never yet been found as a freestanding word in a securely nominative case.

Its cognates appear in other Celtic languages such as Cornish, Breton, and Welsh, for example Cornish *fenten*, Breton *feunteun*, Modern Welsh *ffynnon*.

Previous studies of the element **funta*.

Even though the element had been recognised by the early twentieth century as worthy of note, there is to date still uncertainty as to what **funta* actually signifies. Baker (2006, 257) comments that in his work on British survival in the Chilterns and Essex

> *The loan-word *funta seems to have some kind of importance in a study of this kind, but its interpretation is so unsure that what the exact significance is remains unclear*.

The element has received little attention since its appearance in Middendorff's *Altenenglisches Flutnamenbuch* (1902)where it is listed as *funt, font*, a loan from Latin and a masculine noun glossed as *Quelle* "spring", with examples. In 1910 McClure's *British Place-names in their Historical Setting* states in the index (p 322) that *Funt, Funtan* in place-name elements is borrowed from Latin through British. This appears to be the first recorded suggestion of a British mediation into Old English.

The first real study of the element was published in 1922 in *Englische Studien* (vol 54, 102 – 8) by Eilert Ekwall and entitled *Zu Zwei Keltischen Lehnwörten in Altenglischen*. Ekwall insists that **funta* derives from *fontāna: "Die Quelle des Wortes ist gewiß lat. fontāna"* (107). He takes up McClure's (1910) suggestion of an intervening Brittonic (*Keltisch*) form between Latin *fontāna* and Old English **funta*, taking this as his starting point for "a closer examination of the derivation and form of the word" which, he believes, "will not be superfluous" (my own translation). He discusses in detail possible morphological and phonological developments and the word's status as a lexeme in Old English grammar. He refers to the element's appearance in English place-names, including names which are now accepted as including the element, such as Fovant, and names which are now rejected, such as Lavant, admitting Funtington as a possibility and already casting doubt on Fonthill and Fontmell as consisting of two Celtic elements, *font* being a Celtic cognate of **funta*. He considers cognates of *fontāna* in other Celtic languages, and suggests that **funta* may also indicate a stream as well as a spring. He refers to the work of Middendorff (1902), Johnston (1914) and Ekblom (1917) as well as McClure. Later works continue to make use of this seminal article.

Kenneth Jackson, in his *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953) considers the phonological development of **funta* from Late Latin *fontāna* and suggests (p 680) that this fits the sound changes from Brittonic to Old English which took place during the second half of the sixth century, though he suggests that **funta* may be an earlier borrowing than this, presumably then borrowed with a medial –o- or œ (p 273), then behaving as later borrowings do to comply with the contemporary sound changes. This is, of course, a useful insight into the possible date of use of the element, and its entry into the Old English place-name lexicon. Smith (1956, 189) refers to Middendorff and Ekwall for his definition of **funta* as "spring or stream", but gives the element no preceding asterisk.

It is the work of Margaret Gelling which has enabled the small corpus of early Latin elements to be recognised as vital to the understanding of the history of the period between the end of Roman Britain and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon England, and the degree of interaction between the British and Anglo-Saxon populations. Gelling was the first scholar since Ekwall to pay any attention to the element **funta*, which fits into two distinct categories in her work. The first of these categories is the small group of place-name elements in Old English which derive from a residual Latin vocabulary in native British speech, adopted and adapted into the Old English lexicon by the Anglo-Saxons. Attention to this group of elements was begun in Gelling's 1967 article "English Place-Names Derived from the Compound *wīcham*", and added to and expanded in her 1977 article "Latin Loan-words in Old English Place-Names", where **funta* (without asterisk) was recognised as "promising" for further study, and fifteen examples quoted and mapped. She pointed out the fact that it was unlikely that **funta* would be used to indicate an ordinary spring, given the other available words in Old English, suggesting that its defining characteristic may have been Roman stonework still visible in the fifth century. This suggestion was to be repeated many times by others as if it were a fact, and is still to be found in dictionaries and other books (eg Mills 2003, 523; Draper 2006, 18), despite Dr Gelling's comments about the lack of proof (below). In this article she also considers the path of entry by which the element came from Latin into Old English, suggesting the possibility of a direct entry without a Brittonic intermediary, which had been a staple of Ekwall's enquiry. She makes the suggestion on geographical grounds, also pointing out that the **funta* sites she quotes are near Roman roads and Roman remains, and have other names in the group, especially *wīcham*, in the locality. She mentions Fonthill (Wilts) tentatively, and refers to the interchange of –f- and –h- (1977, 8 – 10). This is often seen as a difficulty, but is in fact a regular sound-change whose history is "obscure" (Gover et al 1936, xxvi – xxvii). In her 1978 book *Signposts to the Past* these comments are repeated and expanded, with reference to Jackson (1953, 273) as support for the phonological possibility of an early direct loan from Latin, where –o- became –u- in circumstances where –ŏ- +nasal + consonant occur, as in *fontāna* (1978, 83 – 6). In her 1984 book Gelling lists **funta* as a topographical element and refers to her 1978 work, but this time including Fonthill (Wilts) as a **funta* site.

The second category into which **funta* is placed by Gelling is that of topographical elements. These elements were largely disregarded by earlier place-name scholars and only recognised as of great importance by Gelling in her 1984 book, *Place-names in the Landscape*. This book was refined and re-organised in her 2000 book, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (with Cole), in her own words "a more reader-friendly book". Far from Stenton's description of topographical elements as trivial and accidental, Gelling demonstrated that such elements are essential to understanding not only the naming of places but also the Anglo-Saxon mind-set, in which landscape features were of prime importance. All place-names are characteristically abundant and ubiquitous, and with a remarkable internal consistency (Gelling 1988, 59). It can therefore be assumed that the

significance of **funta*, as is the case with other elements, will be consistent wherever it is found.

In 1985 Ann Cole's article appeared, in which she examines the hydrological characteristics, distribution and usage of the three stated terms for springs. She takes nineteen names in **funta*, excludes Funtington, Fontmell and Fonthill, and concludes that they are all near a Roman road or ancient trackway, though two are five miles (eight kilometres) away, and show no consistency when proximity of pagan Saxon burials or other place-name elements are considered. She points out that not all **funta* sites are near copious springs, and the element may have also signified a well or stream, as suggested in 1922 by Ekwall. In *The Landscape of Place-Names* Gelling lists **funta* as a topographical element, and now rejects Fonthill and Fontmell since they are British names and queries Funtington. She points out that there has to date been no archaeological evidence to support her suggestion of Roman building work as the defining feature of a **funta* (2000, 17 – 18; and pers com 28.7.04 and 12.8.05).

Recent multidisciplinary studies have included place-name evidence alongside that from history and archaeology, such as that by Baker (2006), quoted above. Evidence from one discipline often serves to illuminate and complement evidence from other disciplines. Thus there is a great need for this elusive element to receive careful attention, to assess its significance and the reason it was adopted by the Anglo-Saxons into their place-name lexicon.

<u>The mode of entry of the element into Old English, and its possible form.</u>

The exact mode of entry of the element into Old English is unclear, as outlined above, and hinges on whether it was a direct loan from Latin or was mediated through Brittonic. It has been suggested that all such loans were mediated in this way (Coates and Breeze 2000, 263), but the possibility exists that where Latin speech may have been widespread, a direct loan was made. However, this presupposes a continuation of at least pockets of Latin vernacular into the early period of Germanic migration, and at the moment it is unclear whether such pockets would have been located in the areas where **funta* place-names still exist (Gelling 1988, 83). Dr Gelling suggests that contact between speakers of Latin and Old English would not have been envisaged by Ekwall or Jackson, and her own suggestion of a direct borrowing is based on the general pattern of distribution, and the proximity of a number of **funta* sites to other names in the group of Latin loan-words into Old English (Gelling 1988, 86; pers com 9.12.2005).

There have, of course, been later loans of the Latin word *fontāna* from Romance languages, which have no bearing on the present discussion.

Ekwall discusses the possibility of a direct route from Latin (either from *fontem* or from *fontāna*), and proposes a diversion via Brittonic. The spoken Brittonic word would, he says, have been *funtōn* with an open [o] sound, replaced in Old English by a word such as *funton* or *funtan* with a less pronounced second vowel, which was then assimilated into Old English as an oblique form of a word whose nominative was assumed to be *funta*. He also discusses whether the form of the word, as it came into Old English, was *funte* or *funta*, from different categories of noun, and after

considering the documentary evidence of charters S 364 and S 430 he makes two suggestions. These are that *funta* is better attested than *funte*, and so more authentic, and that *funte* might be a later form of *funta*. He debates the possibilities of a nominative form: "*ob ein an-Stamm funta oder ein on-Stamm funta anzunehmen ist*" ("whether *funta* is derived from an an-stem or an on-stem") (Ekwall 1922, 103-4). In his discussion of the word's derivation, he states clearly that, though **funta* is evidently cognate with Latin *fons, fontis*, this Latin word cannot be the immediate source for the entry into Old English of a word **funta*. He suggests as an alternative Late Latin *fontāna*, but rejects this on philological grounds, his reasons being that at that time transfer from the Latin into the OE –n declension did not occur. He posits a British intermediate stage between *fontāna* and **funta*. There is no comment on any shift of tonic stress.

Jackson discusses the word's derivation in the same terms as Ekwall, referring to his work and explaining that the British ending *–ano* would become OE *–an*, appearing as an oblique ending for a noun whose nominative would be *–a*, and introduces the possibility of an alternative form *fəonton* (Jackson 1953, 295, 676).

Thus both scholars posit a Latin word borrowed into Celtic speech, altered by and assimilated into this speech, borrowed again from the indigenous British into English, and again altered and assimilated to fit the phonological and morphological pattern of Old English. However, this straightforward process of borrowing – adaptation – assimilation is complicated by forms, in charters, such as *funtnes* (S 786, S 326) which is the genitive form of a different declension, and Ekwall merely refers to this, making no attempt to explain it.

Ekwall gives further evidence for a British intermediate stage in that a spoken word evolving from *fontāna* is well attested and frequently occurs in place-names in Old, Middle and Modern Welsh, Old and Modern Cornish and Old and Modern Breton. He quotes place-names still occurring widely in areas where these languages were and are spoken. He also produces documentary evidence that the British word *fonton* was used in Devon in the tenth century (Ekwall 1922, 108).

Thus the form of the word which was borrowed is not clear, and it may not have been *fontāna.* The Old English language cannot have begun to be formed before the fifth century, and its earliest runic foreshadowings on the Continent have been placed in the second half of this century (Hines 1987, 77; 1991). Any insular Vulgar Latin spoken at that time would have been subject to change, and it is also the case that in the late fifth and sixth century Latin *ā* and former Brittonic *ā* were by now "back and rounded *ō*" (Jackson 1953, 124). Even if the language spoken in Britain had resembled the Vulgar Latin spoken in Gaul, it would in all likelihood have begun to diverge from this. Ecclesiastical contact with the post-Roman Gallic church was maintained, but the ordinary rural population may well have become more insular. It is a characteristic of spoken language that it is subject to constant change, at a greater or lesser rate, according to need or other pressures. It is likely, then, that any word heard by the incomers was not quite what is believed to be the Late Latin *fontāna,* with its distinctive vowel length and tonic stress, but a changed word which may have been more readily available to the Germanic phonology. The language spoken

by Germanic mercenaries who had come into the country before this time may also have begun to affect insular speech developments in some areas.

A direct loan from Late Latin to Old English is hard to explain, phonologically, morphologically and socially. A loan mediated from insular Vulgar Latin via Brittonic is easier to explain, and there are grounds for such a route (Ekwall 1922, 107; Coates and Breeze 2000, 259).

There are several aspects to the word change via Brittonic. In the initial syllable the /o/ becomes/u/. This is regular in early Latin loans, and also where the sequence is o + nasal + consonant, taking place in words borrowed into Old English around AD 550 - 600 (Jackson 1953, 273, 676), but **funta* may be an earlier loan (ibid 680). This follows and accords with the suggested date of the first beginnings of an insular Germanic tongue.

From the third century changes in tonic stress occurred in Brittonic, in which the stress moved from the initial syllable to a preferred position on the penultimate syllable, which would allow the form of *fontāna* to be accepted into Brittonic. Then apocope (loss of final syllable) occurred in Brittonic, in the period mid fifth century to early sixth century, meaning that stress was now on the final syllable (Jackson 1953, 353 – 6, 682 – 9; Schrijver 2002, 93), but in this case stress must have been transferred to the initial syllable. A form such as **fontna* emerged, with vowel mutation above giving **funtna,* of which the oblique would have been **funtnan,* reduced to **funtan,* as found in charters. The dates given by Jackson, late fifth to sixth centuries, accord with what must have been the beginning of the Old English language, and explain why the word altered to the preferred stress pattern of Germanic languages.

The word became a weak noun in Old English (Jackson 1953, 295). An oblique ending would be –n, giving something like **funtnan.* Such a cluster –*ntnan* is uncomfortable, so the medial –n- was lost, giving *funtan*, as is attested.

This is a suggested sequence, and liable to modification, but gives a possible outline of the evolving form of the word as it passed from Latin into Old English.

<u>Modern forms of **funta*</u>

The element continues in use in some modern place-names in the south-east Lowland part of England. Twenty-one instances are attested. Modern forms of the place-name element are diverse. This is explained as arising from its uncommon occurrence, and the confusion in the spoken language of *funt-* with *hunt-* which was a common element in Old English, for obvious reasons (Smith 1956, 189; Gelling 1988, 83). Gover, Mawer and Stenton (1936, xxvii, 249) note the association with hunting, and state that the transition from -f- to -h- was slow and variable, and they quote instances from words containing elements other than **funta*. They also note that a transition from f- to h- is standard in some Romance languages such as Spanish, in regular circumstances. An occurrence of initial f- interchanging with initial h- also occurs in modern Hawkenbury, Kent (Wallenberg 1931, 129), but such occurrences are rare. Apart from this example, a change from –f- to –h- has only been found in a medial position. Further developments of the **funta* element are also to be found in modern spellings of place-names in English. Funtley (Ha) is still often

spelt as Fontley. It is often not obvious that a modern name contains the element **funta,* for example Bedmond (Herts), Bedford Well (Sussex) or Boarhunt (Hants) which are all shown in charter evidence to contain the element.

It is thus important to check all early forms of the name for an instance which indicates the inclusion of **funta,* though no such form is known for Cheshunt. In some cases OE *w(i)ella* has also been added, for example Bedford Well is *Bedefonte* (1486) and *Bedfontwell* (1551), and Funthams is *Funtumwelle* (15c). In some cases, where the first element is the genitive singular of a personal name in –es, as in for example Tolleshunt and Chadshunt, modern pronunciation retains the [s], withstanding the medial –sh- of the written form which looks as if it should be pronounced [ʃ], and thus a reminder that –h- has replaced –f-. This is also the case for Cheshunt. Where the genitive singular of a personal name has –es preceded by [tʃ], as in Pitchfont and Urchfont, the genitive singular –es has fallen out.

The various elements which are combined with **funta* are considered in Chapter 4 of this study, and the significance which such combinations reveal for the events and the developments which took place in the Lowland area of Britain at the time during which the **funta* names were formed and used.

3. The Britons, invisible but not inaudible: the resonance of British in Old English.

Even though much of what was happening in Britain in the fifth century is unclear, nevertheless there are some certainties, one of which is that, during this century and the next, the genesis of the Old English language took place and the language of the indigenous British gradually fell from general use. Old English developed from the contributions of the incomers into a mutually comprehensible and valid medium, though regionally diverse modes were still to be detected in Bede's time, and dialect variations are found even in late charters (Hines 1990, 31; HE I, i, II, v etc). The British have been labelled archaeologically invisible, and in many ways appear also to have been inaudible, since their language has little representation in Old English. However, it is possible to detect a faint echo of their speech, especially in place-names, though very few purely lexical items are to be found (Coates 2007a, 189 - 191), and also traces of a material presence.

Whereas in earlier excavations a British material presence has not been obvious, as modern archaeological methods become more sensitive, traces of an indigenous pre-Saxon lifestyle are identified. For example, there is good historical evidence that at Verulamium the town itself continued to flourish, and now within the town and along the Colchester road evidence of timber buildings dating to the sub-Roman period have been discerned. Though plough damage and erosion have taken place, it has been possible to detect earlier timber buildings on cill beams with an earth floor, and later small wooden buildings on sleeper beams or earth-fast posts (Niblett 2001b, 10). At Baldock new forms of pottery, found in shallow deposits, testify to an occupation by people who were neither Roman nor Saxon. These deposits include a handmade pot of a fabric

similar to that used in the Iron Age, but of Roman style, and also a globular jar of inexpert Anglo-Saxon style decoration but in a hard sandy fabric unlike Saxon fabric (Current Archaeology 2010 xxi, 6, 34). These pieces suggest a change from central industrial production to local craftwork, and a change from a wider exchange network to a locally-based self-reliance. In such ways, thanks to modern archaeological methods, do the British become more visible.

As linguistic study proceeds, they become more audible, too. Place-name study indicates that, here and there, the descendants of the people who first came into contact with Germanic incomers were still in place at a later date, still referring to their home settlements by the same names, usually toponyms. The British may be called *w(e)alas* or *cumbre*, either by themselves or by others (see Appendix 2, 152 - 3). Opinions vary as to whether a continuing name indicates a continuing presence (Gelling 1993, 56; Coates and Breeze 2000, 12), but it is hard to see why an original place-name would stick, albeit in an altered form, if the inhabitants had all gone long ago.

Thus the continuing presence of the British in Anglo-Saxon England is demonstrated more and more convincingly, but the fact remains that their language, whatever it was in the post-Roman fifth century, was gradually superseded so that it became no longer the language in general use. The reason for this has occasioned much discussion and generated various theories about what actually happened (see Chapter 1). Such theories often vary according to the specialisms and understandings of the theorists, and have been brought together succinctly by Higham (2007, especially 1 – 15). This volume presents varied approaches to the so-called invisible British, and here it is the question of their language which will be considered, in particular the language used in the Lowland part of Britain. Most theories about what happened to the British language (Brittonic, British Latin, Primitive Welsh) hinge on computations of the types and numbers of new people who arrived in this country in the fifth and sixth centuries. Conversely, the reasons for the decline of the language also underpin the reasons for the estimates of the numbers involved. Either, the language disappeared because the people did, having been eliminated in some way, or, the people were still there but had been overcome by a few powerful new folk who took charge, their power perhaps being force of arms. The Britons were either absent or powerless. If they were present but powerless, it was because the new people were more powerful, perhaps a small élite group (Higham 2007, 11 – 12). If they were physically absent, it was because they had been driven out, killed or perhaps enslaved and thus effectively absent, because voiceless (Coates 2007, a, b). Or it may have been that, instead of a small élite group, large numbers of peasant farmers arrived and totally swamped the British way of life, which would be another scenario in which they appear absent (Gelling 1993, 51). It seems that the language disappeared because the British were overcome by a large or small number of newcomers, who were in either case more powerful than they were. The incomers may have been aggressive or peaceful.

The theory of the complete absence of the British has also been advanced to explain the almost total lack of lexical borrowing from Brittonic into Old English, and it also suggested that the English had no

need to borrow words from the British because their own vocabulary was quite satisfactory for the situation in which they found themselves (Coates 2007a, 188, 2007b, 51). This brings in the fact that a very small number of Latin loan-words do appear in Old English, including the word which became **funta*; it was borrowed because although Old English had its own vocabulary for watery places, including springs, there must have been a lacuna in the vocabulary for the type of spring which a **funta* came to represent, which is a further reason for believing that a **funta* had a specialised significance in Anglo-Saxon England, and was a phenomenon which had not been distinguished in the homelands. A comparison may be made with the element *eccles*, usually taken to signify a Christian church, which would not have been previously known in the pagan lands of North Germany. Some Latin words had been used there, such as a derivative of Latin *vīcus* which became widely used, and continued to be widely used in Old English, but some loans, including **funta*, were insular.

All the theories so far referred to, which have been put forward to explain the obliteration of the indigenous language of the British, assume that the British were inferior to the incoming Germanic people, either in numbers or in power, and that they were obliged to stop using their own language, and to lose their identity, as the Anglo-Saxon people took control. But beside the theories of numbers, others relating to status and culture have been advanced. An estimate has been made that in early Anglo-Saxon England in the Lowland area there may have been some four times as many British as Anglo-Saxons (Ward-Perkins, 2000, 523). If the new people managed to achieve and maintain a higher status, in their own eyes and in those of the British, then relative numbers assume less importance. In fifth-century Britain it appears that there remained little of the technological skill and organisation which had been characteristic of the days of the Empire, and a less sophisticated, more locally-based, way of life had developed. In the post-Roman world it appears that previous aristocracies fragmented, crises occurred which led to the failure of control and challenges to the established order (Wickham 2005, 256 – 8). Britain was on the edge of the Empire, the last to absorb Roman ways, which had had less time to become entrenched than elsewhere, and the first to see a dissolution and weakening of the pre-occupations of the Empire, which may have been quite rapid. It was "at the outer edge of the spectrum of cultural changes" (Ward-Perkins 2000, 527). If the new arrivals were attractive, it may have been that the British abandoned their own language of their own volition, wishing to be like the Germanic folk in culture and way of life, and so eventually in language too. The person who made the Saxon-style pot at Baldock was attracted by the style. The British may not be visible because the Anglo-Saxons were so much more so, their material culture much more defining, differentiated, technologically able, attractive and identifiable, their way of life purposeful and proactive, their group identity (however small the group) solid. If their language were part of this package, then it was adopted too. There are apparent parallels elsewhere for such radical language change, for example between Basque and Latin (Coates 2007a, 182 – 4) or Pictish and Gaelic (Nicolaisen 2007), but each situation must be examined carefully before a comparison is made. Languages in contact influence each other in different ways, according to

perceived gain for the borrower, in which case a substrate may influence a superstrate, especially in lexis (McMahon 1994, 201). Germanic speakers apparently saw no gain from whatever was spoken in Lowland Britain when they encountered it (Schrijver 2007, 171).

Theory of language change relates in some ways to archaeological theory. Language, like artefacts, as well as being obviously useful in everyday life and communication, can also have a symbolic function in asserting both an individual's identity and also membership of a group. Where a group of people is socially cohesive, language change is more likely to be resisted, but weak social ties are more likely to allow divergence, and there will be complications of class and power. Artefacts and language may reflect a comparable change of culture (Milroy and Milroy 1997).

The writings of Gildas in the sixth century, of course, paint a picture of strife and upheaval, but he was of the old school, and moreover, literate and educated and so able to express and share his view, writing in the Latin of the upper classes. He was a scholar, and his written Latin was scholastic, betraying no sign that he was familiar with any form of spoken Latin, and his style, the "*latin d'école*", betrays a fixation on a past with Rome at the head (Kerlouégan 1968, 176). It is believed that Gildas lived in the west of Britain, where old habits and language continued, and that he was a Roman Christian. His view may well have been shared with others in his area, but it may have been that in the Lowland area there were some people, perhaps of some prestige but with no degree of literacy, who felt more in tune with the pagan incomers and were prepared to share their culture and habits, which were more to their liking than any inherited thoughts of Imperial taxation and oppression. Their view of events has not been transmitted to later centuries. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle there were local battles, and local British leaders were killed, as indigenes attempted to resist those who came with warlike intent, but these early entries in the Chronicle must be read with some scepticism (Yorke 1993). If these accounts have any truth, then there were indeed Lowland people who resisted the incomers, but some may not have done so, either from notions of expediency or from lack of hostility. There is no-one to put the other side of the debate in opposition to Gildas. Some early leaders of the Gewisse, later the West Saxons, had British names (Coates 1991). It may be that all the British were not as browbeaten as some theorists have assumed.

The development of Anglo-Saxon England from Roman Britain was not an overnight occurrence, but took several hundred years. The events of the intervening centuries are still shrouded in mystery, which is why any clues, such as the borrowed word which became **funta*, are so important, as it makes the invisible British slightly more audible.

<u>The significance of water in fifth-century sub-Roman Britain.</u>

It should not be surprising that all **funta* sites are not at springs. The use of the term *fontāna* may have diversified in the sub-Roman period to indicate any watery place, but if so, it was still a very specialised borrowing into Old English. The etymon may have an inbuilt lexical diversity. In modern French the word *fontaine (< fontāna)* is used,

traditionally, for the old drinking fountain in the centre of a village and occurs in place-names of some antiquity such as Fontaine-de-Vaucluse, where springs are abundant. In modern French usage a spring is a *source* and a *fontaine* may be a winebox or an outside tap, whereas a fountain, as at Versailles, is a *jet d'eau,* but the person who looks after the *jets d'eau* is a *fontainier.*

Some shrines which date to Roman times are in LPRIA hillforts, and not all significant ritual sites had water, even when they continued from the LPRIA into Roman times, for example Maiden Castle, Uley or Hayling island (Drury 1980, passim), but it is easy to assume that a **funta,* as a place where there was water, was a ritual site. This may or may not have been the case, but a connection between the availability of water and a supernatural presence should not be discounted. Comparisons with Continental Europe suggest that it is likely that water was an important natural feature in the ritual or religious life of the native British population in Roman Britain which continued into sub-Roman times. The ritual practice of the Celtic tribes in Europe often centred on watery places such as springs, river sources, confluences and so on. Tacitus writes that the religious practice of the local people in that part of Europe he called *Germania* was open-air and pantheistic:

lucos et nemora consacrant (*Germ* 9.2)

and later the Christian church was aware of, and antagonistic towards, the pantheistic nature of Celtic ritual practice, for at the second council of Arles, AD 452, canon 23 ordered bishops to prevent the veneration of natural objects including springs, and St Eloi (d 660) urged that trust should be put in God, not in natural objects (Alcock 1965, 1).

The Germanic people who entered Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries were from northern Europe, and venerated gods of a more warlike nature (Wilson 1992). They too could be propitiated by depositions in watery places, such as the large collection of deposited items in the Thames at Brentford (Brigham 2003, 203, gaz ref Ho6), but their words for wells and streams, such as *w(i)ella, æwiel(m), burna* or *broc* appear to be descriptive and practical. Discussion such as this always returns to the reason why they accepted and adopted the native word *fontāna.* Dr Gelling's notion of stonework of some type still holds sway, and British sacred places had been dignified in some more prestigious locations in the Roman period, though it was unusual for such British temples to have much in the way of decoration (Blagg 1980, 36 – 7). At temples of the Classical Roman religion in Britain the presence of natural water is not a defining feature, albeit necessary for ritual purposes (Rodwell 1980b, esp 232 – 4). Cisterns might be provided as at Ivy Chimneys (Essex) (Green 1986, 149). A spring may, in contrast to Roman practice, have been the defining feature of a non-temple ritual or religious site for the indigenous British people. Teffont, Urchfont, Funtington, Havant and Pitchfont are all near, but not within, known sites of Romano-British temples, the last three dating from the Iron Age. **funta* sites were rural, and accessible. Sacred places apart from temples were open-air and atectonic, places where a human being might be in contact with a divinity who was powerful but not worshipped.

Rivers too appear to have been deified, or at least venerated and named for deities in Celtic Europe and in Britain, and even in the east of England some rivers still retain names which derive from gods. In Europe *Rhenus* gave his name to the Rhine, *Sequana* to the Seine (Alcock 1965, 3) and in Britain *Brigantia* gave hers to the Brent (Rivet and Smith 1979, 279). Depositions at bogs, lakes and marshes and at river-crossing could be offerings of thanks or of propitiation (Green 1986, 141). Springs had a particular importance as points of communication between the supernatural underworld and the only too natural and practical reality of daily life. In the Burgundy and Auvergne regions of France spring sites at *Fontes Sequanæ* near Dijon and at Chamalières, now a suburb of Clermont-Ferrand, have produced large amounts of evidence of ritual activity, and in Britain too spring sites at Bath, Springhead and Carrawburgh continued in importance through the Roman period. Excavation in future years may reveal temples near other **funta* sites.

Thus in the fifth century water in the landscape would have had a significance beyond the purely practical importance of fulfilling everyday needs. A spring called a *fontāna* may have been marked in some special way, perhaps by some form of stonework, though there is no evidence for this. Traditional lore and folk memory may have played their part as markers of memory, or a *fontāna* may have been a site of some other importance.

Conclusion.

There appears to be no consensus among scholars as to many of the linguistic developments in the Lowland area of Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries. There is no agreement as to the language, or languages, in general use in this country before the *adventus*, nor is there any agreement as to the number of Germanic people who came and settled here, nor yet as to their social status or occupation, be it military or agricultural. The one clear fact which cannot be gainsaid is that during this time the language in general use became Old English.

It may be that this lack of consensus comes about because it reflects what was going on, and that in different areas different things were happening. There are various types of evidence which cannot all be reconciled. There is archaeological evidence of élite burial in East Kent, demonstrating the presence of people of high status with strong links to north west Europe. There is historical evidence, as in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, of some local battles in which the British were overcome and their leaders slain, as described by Gildas. There is also archaeological evidence of apparently peaceful assimilation, in the cemeteries of Warwickshire. These pieces of information are from places many kilometres apart, and date to different times within the period. There is also place-name evidence which shows that the British people were still alive and occupying their territory, perhaps still in charge of events in their locality. It would be a mistake to assume that all over the country the same things happened at the same time. It is also a mistake to view the events of a millennium and a half ago through the eyes of the present.

In the areas where the **funta* place-names survive, similar events may have taken place, and new people may have been received in the same

way in each of these localities, which is why a new word was sought for this situation. **funta* sites are all in the mid-south-east part of Lowland Britain, where new settlement may have followed a similar pattern. It has been observed that the Anglo-Saxons had no need to speak British, because their own language sufficed and then the British learned to speak Old English. However, there is proof that in 21 places in Lowland Britain the Anglo-Saxons did indeed need, and learn to speak, one word of British, which was a form of *fontāna,* which they adopted and then adapted into their own tongue.

In the next chapter, the area around each **funta* site will be examined for evidence of late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon presence, and pre-English place-names which testify to some measure of a continuation of British people.

Chapter 3.

**funta* sites and pre-English place-names in their surrounding areas.

The element *******funta* is one of a small number of elements which entered the OE place-naming system from Latin. Some of the Latin words from which these elements derive are also known in place-names in the Germanic-speaking areas of the north-west of the European continent. Such Latin words would probably have been known to the Anglo-Saxons before their arrival in Britain, but no element deriving from the Latin *fontāna* is as yet known in any other Germanic language. **funta* is an insular development, a loan-word entering Old English from Late Latin and following the phonological changes of the host language (Chapter 2). The word would have been needed to fill a space in the Old English place-naming system, otherwise it would not have been adopted, but what the space and its circumstances were are unknown. The element is not found north of a line from Peterborough to Stratford-upon-Avon, nor west of a line from Stratford-upon-Avon to Poole, or in East Anglia or in East Kent (Fig 1).

It will be seen that some **funta* sites are isolated occurrences, with no others in the immediate locality, whereas in some other areas there is more than one **funta* site, and these may have a relationship to each other and have therefore been considered as groups. It may be that the incidence of **funta* names is greater where there is a denser occurrence of pre-English names locally. Gelling (1977, 9) states that not only do **funta* names have "a striking relationship to Roman remains", but that the groups of **funta* names to the east of Southampton and around London have a relationship to other Latin loan-words in local place-names. She notes that there is a tendency for Celtic place-names to occur in clusters. The terms Celtic, British and Latin are here replaced by the more inclusive term "pre-English", when referring to place-names.

It has been thought that there was a general lack of habitative names in the pre-English naming system, and that topographical and landscape elements prevailed, but this theory is now being called into question. Ekwall (1924) believed that no pre-English habitative names would be present in the corpus of English place-names, since before the advent of Roman authority nucleated villages did not exist and dwellings were ephemeral, perhaps made of branches. This has been shown to be incorrect, and that some form of nucleated settlement sites began to emerge in the Iron Age, and certainly existed in the LPRIA, for example in the Winchester area (Cunliffe 1991; Coates and Breeze 2000, 2 – 3; Appendix 1, 270). Such surviving pre-English habitative names are rare, but even away from the borders of Celtic regions there is evidence for names which relate not only to settlements which were named for topographical features, but also to names of settlement sites themselves, such as Beccles, Suffolk, **bacc +* lïs,* "little court" and Priddy, Somerset **prïð +* tiy,* "earth house" (Coates and Breeze 2000, 4, 10; Coates 2002, 48). Topographical elements such as **crüg,* "a wood", and **cilta,* "a steep slope", are relatively common, but there are also settlement elements such as **ꝉenta,* a commercial, trading or route-meeting site of some dominance or importance, where people would

have gathered and settled, and of which two instances survive in modern place-names (Caerwent, Winchester). Understandings of the LPRIA settlement pattern change as more evidence is discovered, for example at *Calleva* (Silchester) where the Iron Age settlement site is currently under excavation, its name from British **calleụa*, probably indicating a town in the woods (Rivet and Smith 1979, 291). Romano-British names may also include settlement elements from Latin such as *castra* and *vīcus* (Appendix 2).

There has been much discussion of the extent of indigenous British population survival during and after the Germanic settlement, and place-names make an indispensable contribution to this question. A cluster of pre-English names may indicate indigenous survival, either as a continuing enclave or as a group of people who later became assimilated, the place-name surviving. Such a cluster would be incompatible with the theory of genocide, as is often portrayed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Chapter 1) and which is still considered possible by some authorities who discuss the thorny problem of the obliteration of Brittonic as a spoken language (Coates 2007a and b). It may also be said that the number of pre-English place-names of Celtic derivation shows that the level of survival was greater than has been admitted, but every pre-English name may not be evidence for British survival (Coates and Breeze 2000, 12). Caution must be exercised: if a place-name which may be derived from a pre-English word may also offer a perfectly acceptable Old English etymology, both suggestions must be considered. A name may have survived on other lips than those which coined it, having been perhaps passed on to newcomers or copied from a perceived local élite, and which in time became the name accepted by all.

However, the survival of a pre-English place-name is evidence of the continuation of an indigenous group of people for at least a certain period of time, and of a linguistic interface, otherwise the name would have disappeared. In this chapter the presence, usually to this day, of a place-name which is, or may be, of pre-English origin is taken as evidence of the likelihood of indigenous survival in the surrounding area. The dimensions of such an area are assessed individually, according to circumstances.

The British appear in the laws of Ine in the late seventh century, and though apparently an underclass (Chapter 1), some do have a certain status. For example, a British *horswealh*, ie in the king's service, has an equivalent wergild to a Saxon ceorl (Grimmer 2007, 105). The British may well have retained their local place-names at least in places and these may appear today as a cluster. It is necessary then to be quite bold when considering a name as a probable pre-English survival, but cautious where the derivation is insecure or open to question.

Areas which have apparently significant clusters of **funta* sites are examined in Part 1 of this chapter. These are Wiltshire (Area 1), south-east Hampshire/south West Sussex (Area 3), East Sussex (Area 4) and the north and west of London (Area 11). Following Part 1, Part 2 will consider areas where there are single occurrences of **funta.* In each of these areas the identified pre-English names with their elements will be examined and listed in alphabetical order, with their derivation, significance or interpretation. Any name which appears to be of pre-English derivation will be considered, whether already listed by an authority or, in some cases, merely apparent.

Their geographical proximity to the **funta* sites in question will be discussed and illustrated on a map, together with evidence of local Late Roman activity and evidence of early Saxon presence. Reference to material in the Gazetteer (Appendix 1) is made as appropriate.

The position of the **funta* site in relation to the pre-English names, Roman evidence and the early Anglo-Saxon sites in each area should prove informative for the situation in each local area at this period. Knowledge of later local political or eccelesiastical developments is included as appropriate.

Chapter 3, Part 1.

Areas with more than one **funta* site.

Areas 1, 3, 4 and 11.

Material for each area is set out in the following order:

Area number and names of **funta* sites in the area

Pre-English place-names in the area, with accompanying map to show these and other appropriate evidence

Discussion

Geology and topography

Settlement and power-bases in the late Roman to early Anglo-Saxon period, with any evidence from later estate or other boundaries

Individual sites

Summary.

Area 1: Wiltshire, Urchfont, Teffont, Fovant

Pre-English names in this area.

Included here are those names which are securely attested, or generally accepted, as being of pre-English derivation, and also some names which may be of pre-English derivation but are considered doubtful or insecure. The names are all in Wiltshire except where indicated in the text.
Details of this area will be found in Appendix 1, 241- 260.
Pre-English names in this area are as follows:

Avon, river-name
Ekwall 1960, 19 – 20; Coates and Breeze 2000, 360; Watts 2004, 28.
S 139 AD c800 (993x6) *Aben*
S 218 AD 883 (11c) *in Afene stream*
ASC (A) *sub anno* 652 *be Āfne*
O Brit *Abonā*
Common substantive used as a river-name.

Brickworth SU 220240
Gover et al 1939, 389, 415; Coates and Breeze 2000, 340; Gelling and Cole 2001, 209.
1255 *brycore* (FF tEd 2)
1268 *Bricore*
brīco < ***brīg*, "a summit".
The second element has caused discussion. Gover gives it as deriving from OE *ōra,* a type of ridge, but Gelling disputes this, with no reason given.

Cheverell ST 980530
Gover et al 1939, 238 – 9; Ekwall 1960, 102; Coates and Breeze 2000, 112, 339; Eagles 2001, 208; Watts 2004, 132.
1086 *Chevrel*
1103 *Capreolum* (Calendar of documents preserved in France)
****cöμar* + ***?*(j)ol*, "a small piece of ploughed land held in common" + suffix
The entry for 1103 indicates that the name was at one time confused with *chevreuil*, the French word for a roe deer.

Chicklade ST 910340
Gover et al 1939, 184 – 5; Ekwall 1960, 102; Coates and Breeze 2000, 340; Eagles 2001, 208; Watts 2004, 132; Breeze 2006.
S 1445 AD 899x924 *Cytlid*
1300 *boscus de Chitlad*
OE *cit* <**cēd,* "a wood".
–tl- > -cl- as in *wæclingas* > Watling (Street)
This name is often regarded as uncertain, but Breeze (2006) explains it as totally Celtic, the final element being an adjectival suffix common in Modern Welsh, thus **cēd* + **-lyd,* "a woody place".

Chitterne ST 990440
Gover et al 1939, 163; Ekwall 1960, 106; Coates and Breeze 2000, 85 - 6, 114, 339.
1086 *Che(l)tre*
1167 *Cettra* (Pipe Roll)
**cēd* + **tre(β)* "homestead in the wood".
The final –n first appears 1268 (Assize Rolls)
There is now no wood nearby. Gover states that this is a very difficult name, and Watts is uncertain of the derivation. It is a rare pre-English habitative name, purely Celtic, with the specifier (generic) as first element, which is an early formation-type. It may indicate continuity of settlement. Breeze (Coates and Breeze 2000, 86) calls it a "rare linguistic fossil".

Chute SU 290530
Gover et al 1939, 12, 340; Ekwall 1960, 108; Coates and Breeze 2000, 339; Gelling and Cole 2000, 223; Watts 2004, 139.
1086 *silva quæ vocatur cetum*
1235 *Cett'.*
cēd, "a wood".

Conock SU 060570
Gover et al 1939, 312 – 3; Ekwall 1960, 121; Coates 1983 – 4, 15 - 18; Coates and Breeze 2000, 340; Eagles 2001, 208; Gelling and Cole 2000, 177; Watts 2004, 155.
1211 *Cunet*
?Pr Welsh **cönyg* (Watts)
But Coates (1983 – 4) states that there is no British etymology and derives the name from **cunaco*.
An ancient name, probably indicating "a hill".

Crook ST970230**, Crookhill** ST990240, **Crookwood** SU 010850
Gover et al 1939, 201,315; Coates and Breeze 2000, 339 – 40; Eagles 2001, 208; Gelling and Cole 2000, 163.
1240 *aqua de crouke*
1268 *Cruc'*
1383 *Croukwod(e)*
**crüg*, "a hill".
Watts (2004, 170) refers to other instances of Crook which have a different derivation.

Croucheston SU 070370
Gover et al 1939, 392; Ekwall 1960, 132; Eagles 2001, 208.
1249 *Crocheston*
? **crüg*, a "hill".
Cf Crookwood etc. above, but only late forms are available and no velar –c appears.

Deverill Brittonic river name
Gover et al 1939, 6; Ekwall 1960, 143; Coates and Breeze 2000, 361.
AD 968 *Deferæl* Wilton Reg.

**duβr + *ial*
"water" + adjective-forming suffix.
This is the name of the upper reaches of the Wylye.

Fonthill ST 930320
Gover et al 1939, 7, 190; Ekwall 1960, 183; Coates and Breeze 2000, 339, 364; Eagles 2001, 208; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 235.
S 1445 AD 899 x 924 *Funtial*
S 1284 900 (12c) *Funtgeall*
S 818 AD 963 x 75 (12c) *Funteal*
**font +* iol*
Primitive Welsh **font, *funt + *iol,* "a place abounding in streams", or, if the second element is **jal,* "a fertile upland region with a stream".
The first element is cognate with, but not identical to, the OE element **funta.*
The river name is structurally British (Coates and Breeze 2000, 364), and as British constructions typically have the generic in first place post- sixth century, this points to British survival here at this date.

Fovant SU 005285
Gover et al 1939, 214; Ekwall 1960, 185; Watts 2004, 238; gaz 12.
S 364 AD 901 *fobbefunte, fobbanfuntan*
Gen sing of the personal name *Fobba > Fobban + *funta*
"The **funta* which was named for or by Fobba". Cf the lost *fobbewelle* in Downton, SU 185215 (Gover 1939, 214).
For a full discussion see the entry in Appendix 1, 254.

Knook ST 930410
Gover et al 1939,171. Ekwall 1960. 282; Coates and Breeze 2000, 339; Watts 2004, 354.
1086 *Cunuche.*
**cnuc,* cnocc* "hill".
Primitive Welsh **cnucc,* a hillock or a boss, cf Mod Welsh *cnwc.*
This is a rare instance of an ancient element.

Melchet SU 270220 (in Hampshire since 1895).
Ekwall 1960, 320; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Gelling and Cole 2000, 223; Watts 2004, 406.
1086 *milchet(e) silva.*
**mēl + *cēd,* ceto,* "clearing (bare place) in a wood".

Nadder Ancient river-name
Gover et al 1939, 9; Ekwall 1960, 335; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Watts 2004, 428.
S 326 AD 860 *þanon up on Nodre on þæt rede clif*
"flowing".

Old Sarum SU 138327; **Salisbury** SU 145295
Gover et al 1939, 18 – 9; Ekwall 1960, 402; Rivet and Smith 1979, 461; Coates and Breeze 2000, 108 – 9; Eagles 2001, 215; Watts 2004, 524.

Sorvioduni, Sorbioduni (Antonine Itinerary)
ASC *sa* 552 *æt Searobyrg.*
**sorμio, *sorwjo + *dūnos + *on*
It is assumed that the first element is a personal name, so that the place-name name parallels Camulodunum (Colchester) and signifies "a fortress belonging to a person called Sorwjos". It might also be the British name of the river, as we have no early name of the river which is here known as the Avon. Old Sarum was an Iron Age hillfort.

Penchet SU 180300
Gover et al 1939, 415; Coates and Breeze 2000, 339.
** penn + * cēd,* "a wood on a hill".
This name is now lost but was in Clarendon Forest.

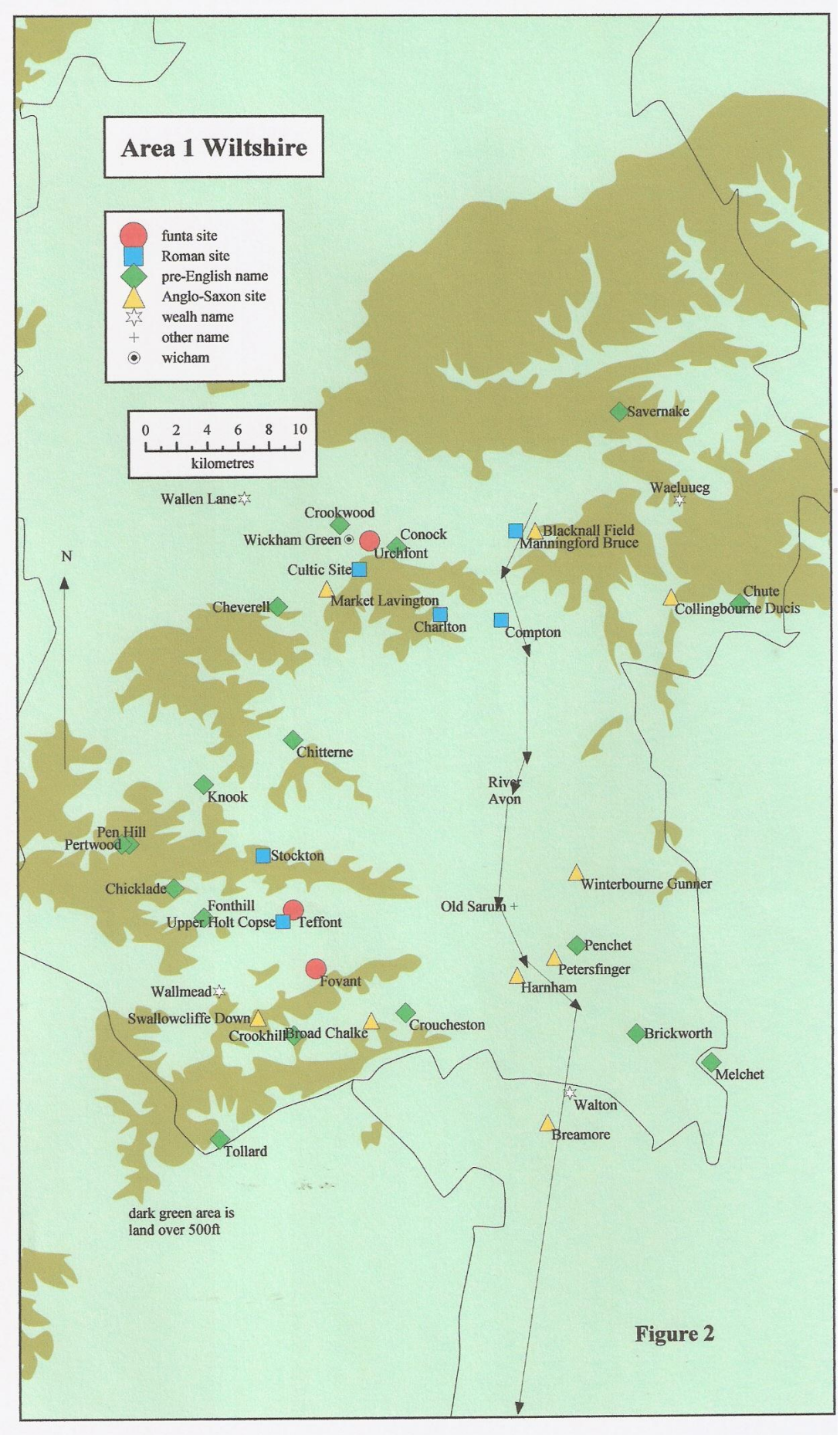
Pen Hill ST 875370
Gover et al 1939, 33 – 4, 174; Eagles 2001, 208; Watts 2004, 276.
S 419 AD 932 (15c) *ðæs lutlen sæxpennes suð eke*
Seaxpenn refers to Pen Hill, cf Pensax in Hereford and Worcester
** pen,* "a hill", thus a tautological name.
It is suggested (Watts) that this hill may have been a boundary marker, the meeting place of Sixpenny Handley hundred.

Pertwood ST 880370
Gover et al 1939, 176; Coates and Breeze 2000, 340.
1086 *Perteworde*
pert < ** perθ, * pertā,* "a bush".

Savernake SU 210660
Gover et al 1939, 15, 352, 506; Ekwall 1960, 405; Coates and Breeze 2000, 339; Watts 2004, 529.
S 424 AD 933 (14c) *silvam quæ appellatur Safernoc*
**SaßrVn,*saßrena +*ōg <*āco*
Now the name of a forest region, this may have been the earlier name of a river, perhaps the Bedwyn. The first element is the same as the name of the river Severn.

Teffont ST 990325
Gover et al 1939, 161; Ekwall 1960, 462; Watts 2004, 603; gaz 12.
S 326 AD 860 *be tefunte*
**teo + *funta*
"The **funta* at the boundary".
For a full discussion see the entry in Appendix 1, 254.

Tollard ST 940170
Gover et al 1939, 208; Ekwall 1960, 476; Coates and Breeze 2000, 340; Watts 2004, 621.
1086 *Tollard*
Toll + ard < Primitive Welsh **tull* "a hole" + **arð* "height", "the hole on the high ground", cf Mod Welsh *twll.*
There are numerous natural hollows in the high ground here.


Area 1 Wiltshire
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
wealh name
other name
wicham
0 2 4 6 8 10
kilometres
N
Savernake
Waeluueg
Wallen Lane
Crookwood
Wickham Green
Conock
Urchfont
Blacknall Field
Manningford Bruce
Cultic Site
Market Lavington
Cheverell
Charlton
Compton
Chute
Collingbourne Ducis
Chitterne
Knook
River Avon
Pen Hill
Pertwood
Stockton
Chicklade
Winterbourne Gunner
Old Sarum
Fonthill
Upper Holt Copse
Teffont
Penchet
Petersfinger
Harnham
Fovant
Wallmead
Swallowcliffe Down
Crookhill
Broad Chalke
Croucheston
Brickworth
Melchet
Walton
Breamore
Tollard
dark green area is
land over 500ft
Figure 2

Urchfont SU 042574
Gover et al 1939, 315; Ekwall 1960, 488; Watts 2004, 639; gaz 7.
1086 *Ierchesfonte*
**Eohrīces* + **funta* "the **funta* named for or by *Eohrīc"*
For a full discussion see the entry in Appendix 1, 249 et seq.

Wæluuweg SU 250600
Eagles 2001, 208 (although Eagles now discounts this as a *wealh* name, as no spelling of *–ae-* for *–ea-* is known, pers com).
wealh, "a Briton", thus "the path of the British".

Wallen Lane ST 958603
Eagles 2001, 208.
wealh, "a Briton, thus "a place inhabited by British" as perceived by the English.

Wallmead ST 940270
Gover et al 1939, 198; Eagles 2001, 208.
wealh, "a Briton", thus "a meadow used by the British".

Walton SU 175200 (lost)
Gover et al 1939, 394 – 5; Ekwall 1960, 494; Eagles 2001, 208.
weala + tun, thus "the farmstead of the British or serfs".

Wickham Green ST 028575
Gover et al 1939, 316; Gelling 1967, 92; Eagles 2001, 208
A *wīchām*

Wylye river name
Gover et al 1939, 11; Ekwall 1960, 540 – 1; Coates and Breeze 2000, 363; Watts 2004, 706.
S 234 AD 688 (13c) *in loco ubi conjuncuntur duo flumina Aven et Wileo*
S 326 AD 860 (15c) *andlang wilig on hyssa pol…….þæt land æt Wilig*
S 1010 AD 1045 (14c) *on wili stream*
PrW **Wīlou* < **wīl* of unknown origin, + suffix *ouiā*, probably re-formed as OE **Wīl* + *ēa.*
Identical with, for example, Gwili, Dyfed, and rivers in Europe.
Of uncertain significance.

Discussion.

The county name Wiltshire is a convenient, though arbitrary, way to describe an area which had no cohesion as an entity before, at the very earliest, the ninth century, and even now the county is being eroded by the isolation of Swindon and its surrounding area as a unitary authority. It is interesting to note that this authority stretches from Barbury Castle on the Ridgeway (*ASC* [A] *sub anno* 556 *Beran byrg*) in the south to Kempsford on the Thames (*ASC* [A] *sub anno* 800 *Cynemæresforda),* in the north, a nice reminder of historic boundaries (Appendix 1, 241).

Geology and Topography.

The terrain of modern Wiltshire is varied. The southern part of the county where the three **funta* sites are located is dominated by the upland of Salisbury Plain, where the chalk is permeable, so rain drains away easily and the surface is dry. The chalk is capped by layers of clay-with-flints which form a shallow topsoil. Most of the northern part of the Plain is at present used by the military, but in Roman times was available for pasture and agriculture, as the water-table was higher (Appendix 1, 250). The permeable nature of the chalk is in places interrupted by impermeable layers of flint or clay, leading to the presence of springs such as those at Tillshead or Chitterne (Field 1999, 29). To the north of the Plain the Vale of Pewsey runs east to west, a strip of Upper Greensand which provides fertile soil and where there are many springs, and it is here that Urchfont lies. To the north of the Vale of Pewsey is the high chalk of the Marlborough Downs, and to the south of the Vale are the escarpments of the north edge of Salisbury Plain. To the south of the Plain river valleys run west to east, where the Wylye, the Nadder and the Ebble flow to join the Avon near Salisbury. The valley of the Wylye has escarpments to north and to south, and beyond the southern high ground is the valley of the Nadder, known as the Vale of Wardour, where Teffont and Fovant lie. Here there are various soil types where farming takes place, and woodland and limestone quarries are to be found (Draper 2006, 5 – 6).

Settlement and power-bases.

There is no evidence of any remarkable change in this part of modern Wiltshire towards the end of the period of Roman authority. The intensive agricultural activity along the northern and eastern edges of Salisbury Plain appears to have declined as the fifth century approached (Appendix 1, 250 - 1), though little dating evidence is available. Coins of the early fifth century have been found near Urchfont (ibid, 251), and to the south in the Nadder valley coins of similar date indicate that the possible shrine at Upper Holt Copse was still in use (ibid, 256). It appears that life continued hereabouts, but perhaps with a reduced concentration of population. There is no coastal trading area or urban centre to provide archaeological information, but belt fittings found across the county, which date to the late fourth and early fifth centuries, suggest that some form of regulation was in effect at a local level (ibid, 244). The wearers of the belts may have been answerable to local leaders (Russell and Laycock 2010, 158 – 166).
The place-name evidence indicates a continuation of British speech, more noticeable towards the west (Coates and Breeze 2000, 391 map). Notably, there are no Latin-derived names apart from the **funta* names, unless Sarum be included. The surviving Brittonic names in the east of the county are toponyms, easily understood as loans from the indigenous population which became names in their own right: Melchet, Penchet and Chute are all from Brittonic **cēd*, a wood, and Brickworth would be a similar loan, especially if the second element is taken as OE *ōra,* when the name would be tautological as is often the case in such names. In the west, and

particularly the north-west, of the county, the pre-English names indicate indigenous survival, and the name Idover occurs in eleven names here, still surviving, for example, in Idover Demesne Farm (SO 955805) between Malmesbury and Wootton Bassett near the border with Gloucestershire. The generic of this name is **duβr,* water, and the qualifier has given rise to some discussion (Coates and Breeze 2000, 93 – 4). Draper also demonstrates the distribution of pre-English names, with few to the east and many to the west (Draper 2006, 51, Fig 18).

This occurrence of pre-English place-names accords with the historical account of the Saxon penetration of the area, for which the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A)* is the main source. The initial advance is described as taking place up the Wiltshire Avon from the south, probably by Germanic folk from the southern part of modern Hampshire, as Cerdic and Cynric are said to have arrived at a place called *Cerdicesora* (*sub anno* 495) and fought against the British. The entry for 508 lists a further battle fought by Cerdic and Cynric in which the local ruler, whose lands extended up the Avon as far as Charford, was killed, and a battle is listed at Charford on the lower Avon *sub anno* 519, when the two are said to have succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. Further battles are listed at *Cerdicesleag,* (*sub anno* 527), though the location of this place is as yet unknown, and again at *Searobyrig,* below the hillfort at Old Sarum, called by the Romans *Sorviodunum,* (*sub anno* 552), thus enabling the Saxons to hold sway up the Avon as far as modern Salisbury.

To the north of this area further battles are listed, at *Beranbyrig* (Barbury) (*sub anno* 556) and at *Wodensbeorg,* near Alton Priors where the Ridgeway crosses Wansdyke (*sub anno* 592). These sites appear to indicate a penetration by a different Germanic group settled in the Upper Thames valley, and whereas the two groups seem to have been allied against the British at the battle of Barbury, a rift appears to have divided them before the battle of Wodensbeorg, as following that battle Ceawlin, leader of the northern group, was driven away

Her micel wælfill wæs æt Woddes beorg 7 Ceawlin wæs ut adrifen

A barrier was thus created along the Ridgeway or Wansdyke between the two groups (Eagles 1994, 27).

There is supporting archaeological evidence that shows a Saxon influence in the later fifth century which indicates the presence of warlike people with strong links to their homelands. On the Avon below Salisbury excavation at Breamore (Hampshire) of eleven inhumation graves revealed rich and prestigious, though unstratified, items including five buckets with a glass bowl as well as spears and shield bosses. A bronze buckle with inlaid garnet shows a Frankish connection and there is also a Visigothic mount, with goods demonstrating links to the Isle of Wight, Kent and Francia. The cemetery dates from the late fifth century and into the sixth (Worrell 2002). Further north from Breamore, 43 inhumation graves were excavated in 1981 at Charlton, where graves may date to the fifth and sixth centuries, a shield-on-tongue buckle showing a Frankish connection (Draper 2006, 150, no 194). Near Salisbury is Harnham, at the bottom of a hill 2km west of the confluence of the Bourne with the Avon, where in

1853 64 graves were excavated. Records are sparse but a Frankish link is again demonstrated (ibid 159, no 395). Bracelets, finger rings and a significant number of child graves suggest that the cemetery is more indicative of an indigenous site than other local sites (Stoodley pers comm.). At Petersfinger, 1km east of the confluence, 63 graves dating to the fifth and sixth centuries revealed a quantity of goods including a sword of Krefeld-Gellep style and a later fifth-century belt-set (Welch 1993, 272; Draper 2006, 147 no 148). A large inhumation cemetery was excavated at Winterbourne Gunner, 5km up the Bourne, which may have begun as a native cemetery, where one skeleton was carbon-dated to at the latest c460 (Eagles 2001, 215) and a Frankish francisca and a distinctive strap-end again showed the continental influence (Draper 2006, 165, no 507). Further up the valley at Collingbourne Ducis a settlement was found, where one of the 10 sunken-featured buildings may be of fifth century date, and a cemetery was dated to the fifth century by metal finds (Eagles 2001, 209; Draper 2006,148 nos 162, 163). At Blacknall Field, Pewsey, a cemetery with 104 inhumations and 4 cremations dates from the late fifth century, and shows that the first inhabitants here were of various origins. Links with the Upper Thames valley, the Lower Thames, Kent and the south-east Midlands, and the Bourne valley and Andover to the east, are shown by the range of brooch styles, including 5-spiral saucer brooches indicative of high-status females, and a zoomorphic penannular brooch, perhaps of British influence but paired with another of German style. Little connection is shown with the cemeteries to the south in the Avon valley. There are also links with the frontier settlement at Market Lavington (Appendix 1, 252). The grave arrangement indicates a kinship grouping of people from all walks of life (Annable and Eagles 2010, 24 – 40, 100 – 109).

This part of Wiltshire was a frontier zone, and may even reflect the pre-Roman tribal territories (Eagles 2001; Annable and Eagles 2010, 109). Wansdyke served as a landscape marker at various times. It appears that the incursus of Saxon personnel and culture reached the area from north, east and south, and cemetery weapon evidence supports the tales of fighting here as described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The presence of *foederati* in the fifth century is evidenced at Dorchester-on-Thames (Evison 1965), and the barrow/secondary inhumations in the Avebury area indicate that this was still disputed territory in the sixth to ninth centuries, initially between British and Saxon, later between the kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex (Semple 2003, 84). Finally, the dwellers by the Wylye are named as a group in the ninth century (*ASC [A] sub annis* 800, 878;Appendix 1, 241). Thus the area around Salisbury Plain does not fit neatly into any picture of the development of the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, but rather emerges as a divided, fluctuating land, with a British presence maintained, as shown by the place-names.

Individual sites:

Urchfont (Appendix 1, 249 - 253)

In the late Roman period there was a decline in activity in the villa estates near Urchfont, and the agriculture on the Plain became less

productive (ibid, 251). However the coin deposits at the nearby cultic site indicate local activity, and the settlement at Market Lavington shows that a Saxon presence had penetrated the valley by the early sixth century (ibid, 252). There is a cluster of pre-English names around Urchfont, a phenomenon noted by Gelling (1978, 90). This cluster includes a *wīchām*, which suggests that the people at Market Lavington recognised the presence, and perhaps the authority, of the indigenous population, some of whom may indeed be buried in the cemetery there (Appendix 1 252). None of the other local pre-English names are of Latin derivation apart from Urchfont itself, and it may be that by this time the term **funta* had, like *wīchām,* become part of the emerging Old English language. In any case, there is archaeological evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence, place-name evidence of British presence, and a **funta* and a *wīchām* which suggest co-existence of the two peoples.

Thus it appears that Urchfont may have been situated in an area where British survival was generally to the west and the Germanic advance to the east. The idea of a boundary location is reinforced by the name Marden (S 478 AD 941), and it may be that the location had already a boundary importance, marked by the cultic site on the hill near Urchfont.

Teffont and Fovant (Appendix 1, 254 - 260).

There is little evidence of activity in this locality in the period of declining Roman authority. Coin deposits of late fourth- and early fifth-century date, found at Upper Holt Copse and at Barford St Martin, testify to a continuing indigenous presence (ibid, 256). There are no pre-English names known in the valley which might support this evidence, apart from the two **funta* names themselves. The name Fonthill is discussed in Appendix 2, 154 - 5, and is rejected as an Old English **funta* name. There is likewise no evidence locally of an early Anglo-Saxon presence. Teffont and Fovant appear to lie, isolated and unimportant, on either side of the Nadder, but important enough to be named as **funta* locations, at the western limit of Germanic penetration until the seventh century.

The first element of the name Teffont signifies a boundary. In S 326, AD 860, which is a grant of 14 *cassati* of land at Teffont, the name of the place is given as *be Tefunte*, "near Teffont", and the *Teofunte* is listed as a point in the boundary clause. Thus in the ninth century an existing boundary still ran through the **funta*.

Summary of Area 1.

The part of Wiltshire here under scrutiny was a contested area during the post-Roman period and well into early medieval times. It has been suggested that traditional territorial divisions may have continued to be a factor in the gradual spread of Saxon culture and control, and if this were so, then the existing pre-English place-names reinforce this. Archaeological evidence from the lower Avon and the Pewsey area demonstrates that in the fifth and sixth centuries some struggle for control was taking place to the east and north.

Urchfont in particular appears to exemplify an agreed settlement, since the pre-English names here lie in close proximity to the evidence of Germanic culture at Market Lavington. Teffont and Fovant are the only known **funta* sites which appear anywhere as a pair. It is unclear whether this is accidental, but since no other pre-English names are known in the locality, the siting may well be a statement. Although the three sites appear as a group, in fact they must be considered individually, within the total spread of **funta* names.

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Area 3, South-east Hampshire and south West Sussex, Funtley,

Boarhunt, Havant, Funtington.

Pre-English names in this area.

Included here are those names which are securely attested, or generally accepted, as being of pre-English derivation, and also some names which may be of pre-English derivation but are considered doubtful or insecure. Funtington is in West Sussex.
Details of this area will be found in Appendix 1, 269 - 296.
Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Boarhunt SU 604084
Ekwall 1960, 50; Coates 1989, 36; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 67; Appendix 1, 281 - 2.
S 1821 10c (printed as BCS 1161) *æt byrhfunt'*
DB *Bor(e)hunte*
OE *burh,* gen sing *byrig* + **funta*
"spring at an enclosed place".

Cams Hall, Bay, Bridge SU 588056
Coates 1989, 48; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302.
**cameis* "bends".
The course of the Wallington River bends significantly here as it enters the harbour.

Catherington SU 695143
Ekwall 1960, 90, 93; Coates 1989, 49.
Possibly from PrW **cateir, * cater, * cadeir,* "chair" or a chair-like feature in the landscape. This is a very unsure derivation.

Chark SU 575020
Coates 1989, 51; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302.
**carreg,* "rock, rough common".

Chichester SU 859045
Watts 2004, 132.
ASC sub anno 895 *Cisseceastre.*
Cissa, OE personal name, + *ceaster*

Chidden SU 658178
Gelling and Cole 2000, 119; Watts 2004, 133;
S598 AD 956 *æt cittandene, cittanware becun*
**cēd* + OE *den*
" wooded valley".
The forms in S 598 deny any meaning of "the people living at Chidden", but indicate instead that the dwellers were in a wood. Gelling quotes Kitson who cites Jackson (1953, 327) for the development of PrW **cēd* > W Sax *cit.* Watts disagrees with Gelling but prefers to remain unconvinced.

Chilcomb SU 508284
Coates 1989, 53; Coates and Breeze 2000, 349; Watts 2004, 133.
S 376 AD 909 lists the beneficial hidation for *Ciltancumb* and the bounds of the estate
S 1821 BCS 1161 (10c) *an hund hida to Ciltancumba*
BCS 1160 (10c) *þæs landes into Ciltecumbe*
DB *Ciltecumbe*
**cilta* + OE *cum*
"valley near the steep slope".
The steep slope may be one of several locally, but is most likely to be Cheesefoot Head.
There is also Chilcombe Copse in Leckford at SU 388363 (Area 2).

Creech Farm, Woods, House and **Lodge** in the Forest of Bere SU 636102
Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; OS 119
**crüg* "wood".

Critchfield SU 800040
Coates and Breeze 2000, 337
**crüg* + OE *feld*
"an open space near a wood".

Funtington SU 801081
Mawer and Stenton 1929, 60; Ekwall 1960, 190; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 244;Appendix 1, 290.
AD 1252 *Fundentone, Fundintune*
**funta* + OE *–ing-* + OE *tūn*
"settlement where there are springs".

Funtley SU 562082
Coates 1989, 78; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 244;Appendix 1, 278.
DB *Funtelei*
1251 – 1305 *–lye, -legh, -leg', -lighe*
1305 *Funtle*
**funta* + OE *leah*
"spring in a clearing".

Havant SU 717061
Ekwall 1960, 226; Coates 1989, 88; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 288; Appendix 1, 285.
S 430 AD 935 (12c) *æt hamanfuntan*
DB *Havehunte*
Personal name Hama, gen sing Haman + **funta*
"Hama's spring".

Itchen, river-name
Ekwall 1928, lxxix, 217; Coates and Breeze 2000, 267. Watts 2004, 334.
S 376 AD 909 *on icenan æt brombricge*

This is an ancient river name identical to the Itchen in Warwickshire and believed to be cognate with the Yonne, France (< *Icauna*). The Itchen is still a boundary today at Brambridge.
Upstream from Winchester there are settlement names such as Itchen Abbas and Itchen Stoke.

Marker (Point) SU 746023
Gelling and Cole 2000, 209.
OE (*ge) mēarc + ōra*
"boundary on the shore". This name is representative of the group of *ōra* names in the coastal area and has been chosen because it marks the modern boundary between Hampshire and Sussex.

Meon, river-name.
Ekwall 1928, 288; Coates 1989, 116; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Watts 2004, 408.
S 269 AD 786 x 93 (13c) Meona
12c *æt, ofer, in Meone*
This is possibly cognate with the Main in Germany.

Micheldever SU 515393
Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Watts 2004, 410.
S 360 AD900 (11c) *Myceldefer*
S 335 AD862 (12c) *Mycendefr*
S 360 AD900 (11c) *Myceldefer*
**mïgn + *dißr* > OE *mycen + dever*
"swampy water". The first element was later hypercorrected to OE *mycel* "great or much".

Portchester SU 625045
Rivet and Smith 1979, 441 – 2; Coates 1989, 133; Watts 2004, 478.
This is usually referred to in Latin by the name *Portus Adurni*, though there is no certainly correct form in Latin. The second element may be from British **ardu* "height".
port + ceaster
"walled place in the port".

Preshaw (House) SU 576234
Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Gelling and Cole 2000, 245 – 7; Watts 2004, 482.
**prēs* + OE *sceaga*
"little wood where there is brushwood".
The map in Gelling and Cole 2000, 246 shows the element *–shaw* to be more common in the west, especially the north-west, but shows a similar name, Appleshaw, also in Hampshire.

Solent, between the Isle of Wight and the mainland
Coates 1989, 151; Kitson 1996; Coates and Breeze 2000, 303; Watts 2004, 558.
S 532 AD 948 *7lang dic utt on sæ þonon utt on Soluentan*

HE *Soluente*
-wente is known in Old European river names.
Vennemann (1999) suggests that the name is of Semitic etymology, and Coates (1988, 13) says the name "cannot be explained in terms of languages known to have been spoken in Britain", repeating (1989, 151) that the name is of Indo-European derivation. In fact it is impossible to say at the moment how old the name is or what its origin is. Parallels are sought in Classical authors by both Vennemann and Coates in the eastern Mediterranean, and both suggest the name indicates an association with cliffs, in which case it must refer to the cliffs on the Isle of Wight as there are no cliffs on the mainland coast here.

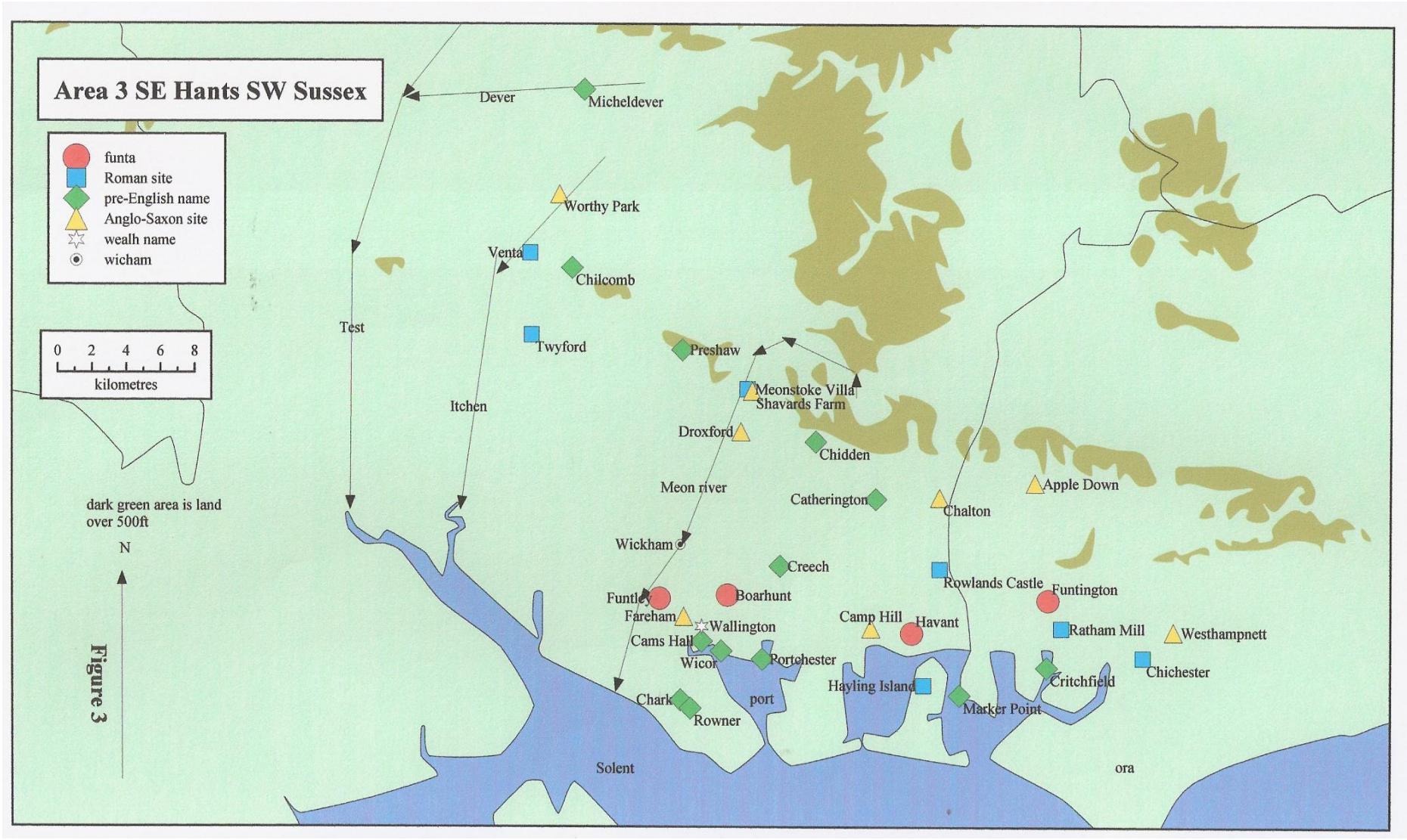
Wallington, river-name
Coates 1989, 168.
1233 *Waletun*
1307 *Waleton*
?wealh + tun
"settlement of the British".

Wickham SU 575115
Coates 1989, 175; Watts 2004, 677 – 8.
DB *wichehamp*
wīchām.

Wicor SU 600050
Gover 1961, 22; Coates 1999, 89 n2, 111.
T Ed 1 *Wikore*
1400 *Wikoure*
OE *wic + ōra*
"trading site on the shore".

Wight, Isle of
Rivet and Smith 1979, 487 – 9; Coates and Breeze 2000, 303; Watts 2004, 679.
HE iv, 13 *Uectam vidilicet insulam*
Latin *Vectis*
The name may be ancient, or Brittonic from a form **Ueχta*. It occurs in several Greek and Roman texts (Rivet and Smith 1979, 488) and may signify a fork or division in the water leading north into Southampton Water and the mouths of the Test, Itchen, Hamble and Meon, which division creates the double tides of the Solent.

Winchester SU 482293
Rivet and Smith 1979, 492; Coates and Breeze 2000, 303; Watts 2004, 684;Appendix 1, 262.
HE iii, 7 *in civitate Uenta quæ a gente Saxonum Uintancæstir appellatur*
S 254 AD 737 *Wentanæ ecclesiæ*
S 425 AD 934 (the charter was signed) *in civitate opinatissima (sic) quæ Winte ceaster nuncupatur*


Area 3 SE Hants SW Sussex
funta
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
wealh name
wicham
0 2 4 6 8
kilometres
dark green area is land over 500ft
N
Dever
Micheldever
Worthy Park
Venta
Chilcomb
Test
Twyford
Itchen
Preshaw
Meonstoke Villa
Shavards Farm
Droxford
Chidden
Meon river
Catherington
Apple Down
Chalton
Wickham
Creech
Rowlands Castle
Funtington
Funtley
Boarhunt
Fareham
Wallington
Camp Hill
Havant
Ratham Mill
Westhampnett
Cams Hall
Wicor
Portchester
Chichester
Hayling Island
Critchfield
Chark
port
Marker Point
Rowner
Solent
ora
Figure 3

DB *Wincestre, Wintonia*
**uenta* + OE *ceaster*
"walled place called wint-"
Near the East gate a section of the Roman wall may still be seen. S 463 AD 940 refers to a mill near the east gate of the city: *anæ mylnæ æt þam geast geate æt Wintan ceastræ,* and a mill (of later date) is still in existence there today.
The spelling varies between medial –e- and –i-, and Bede uses both in the same sentence (above).

Discussion.

Stretching across the county boundary, three of these sites form a line between high ground and sea, the fourth, Boarhunt, near a *wīchām* just inland. It is suggested here that the Winchester area may have enjoyed a special status in Roman and early Anglo-Saxon days, and that the shore from Southampton Water in the west to Bognor in the east was a distinctive trading area.

Geology and topography.

The area under consideration has the underlying chalk subsoil of the Downs, with a flat coastal plain of clay and brickearth. To the south the Portsdown Hills stand behind the coast from Funtley in the west to Havant in the east, the scarp visible from the sea, the dip to the north. Overlying the chalk is clay-with-flints. In earlier times the Forest of Bere extended along the north of the hills, a barrier to penetration. Rivers which rise in the high ground flow south to the sea, notably the Itchen, Hamble and Meon, thus providing easy access inland. There appears always to have been indentations which would provide harbours (Woodcock 2003, 1 – 8). This coastline has seen great alteration in the last two millennia, and the harbours of Southampton, Portsmouth and Langstone have had different histories. In the Iron Age and Romano-British period sea level rose and Chichester harbour became politically important (Allen and Gardiner 2000, 199 – 220 esp 214 – 217).

Settlement and power-bases.

The Winchester area, the river valleys and the coastal strip all have evidence of activity during the late Roman period and of an early Anglo-Saxon presence. Here, if in no other area in this study, it may be possible to show a continuation of population, settlement, trading and perhaps authority through this period of scanty evidence, with pre-English place-names reinforcing the archaeological evidence of a cultural mingling with no hiatus. Reference is made through this section to the appropriate sections of the Appendix.

Excavation within the city of *Venta Belgarum* demonstrates that people were living here, apparently continuously, in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In the second part of the fourth century some buildings were demolished and open areas established, some with evidence of dark earth, and the water supply upgraded. Inside the walls the streets deteriorated and their paths deviated, though the main routes between gates survived. Wherever excavation has taken place within the city, evidence of continuation of activity from the fourth century into the fifth and sixth has been found (Biddle and Biddle 2007). Burial practice became disorganised, the cemetery at Lankhills to the north of the city falling out of use in the fifth century while cemeteries to the east and upstream on the Itchen were used. These cemeteries would also have been needed by a population living outside the walls. In the Highcliffe area below St Giles Hill to the east domestic occupation is believed to have continued until the mid-fourth century (Collis 1978), and a low-status farmstead existed to the south until the end of the century (Lewis 2010).

In the valley of the Itchen south of the city activity continued into the fifth century at a villa site at Twyford (Scott 1993, 88; NMRMIC-1769), and in the valley of the Meon the aisled building at Meonstoke, which had been partly destroyed by fire in the third century, was subsequently robustly reconstructed, with an elegant, elaborate façade, now in the British Museum. In the second half of the fourth century the walls were either taken down or collapsed, with evidence of some sporadic occupation after this. A road may have passed by the building close to the façade (King 1996; Appendix 1, 278).

On the coast, the Saxon Shore fort at Portchester was continuously occupied into late Roman times and beyond. During the late fourth, and into the fifth, century occupation described as "disordered" is evidenced, after which the coin sequence stops (Cunliffe 1975, 422 – 31; Maxfield 1989, 160 – 2). A wide range of activities took place inside the fort and the presence of women and children is demonstrated by burial evidence and finds of shoes and jewellery. The exact reason for the establishment of the fort here, whether for defence or as a base for a patrolling fleet, is not without discussion, but a coin dated to c380 indicates military payment at this time, though the background of the occupants is unclear. There is no reason to suspect that maritime trade and commercial activity ceased along the shore, and it is suggested that the Selsey peninsula and Chichester harbour were centres of trade into the early middle ages and beyond. The coastal area to the south of Chichester was a busy trading area in the LPRIA, and the entrenchments north of Chichester appear to mark a boundary between this part of the coastal plain and the Downs to the north (Appendix 1, 299). Selsey, the most southerly point of the peninsula, was an important trading post, and the remains of coin hoards, deposits and losses along the beach indicate the scale of the activity (Bean 2000, 253, 256, 269 – 71). These coins include many gold issues, and there was also a bronze group (SB) centred on Chichester (ibid 206 – 7). The coinage styles show a strong influence from Gaul, and the continental connection is also exemplified by the design and layout of the temple at Hayling Island (Appendix 1, 286 - 7). The economic importance of the area continued into the Roman period. Further east at Chichester, there is however no evidence which suggests any notable population within the walls after the end of the fourth century. The walls were strengthened in the fourth century, but the

reason for this is unknown (Magilton 2003; NMR_NAT-924434), and there is no evidence of the sort of refurbishment which was taking place at Winchester. The harbour today is far more inundated than it was 2000 years ago and the coast at Selsey has been eroded, whereas in Roman times the peninsula reached farther into the sea and later was the traditional landing place of the invading Saxons, *Cymensora*. Mixen Rock off Selsey Bill, now underwater for most of the time, was used as a source of material for building and lining wells in Chichester, and material from it has also been found in the palace at Fishbourne and in the north gate at Chichester (*Past Matters* 2006, 15). The harbour mouth was narrower, since sea level was higher, and at the head of Fishbourne Creek are remains of two Roman buildings, now under water. Roads were constructed from the new town at Chichester (*Noviomagus*) not only inland to the north-east, north-west and west to centres of population, but also, significantly, south into the Selsey peninsula, south-west to a point on the west of the peninsula at Copperas Point (SU 829019) and south-south-west to a point on the south-west coast now between Bracklesham and Wittering (SZ 805963). The final part of this last road is today followed by the B2198 (OS 120) and aerial photography reveals cropmarks and alignments. Stane Street preceded the establishment of Chichester, running between Copperas Point and Pulborough inland (*Past Matters* 2005, 18 – 21). Even though known evidence of industry in the peninsula in Roman times is limited to two kiln sites between Copperas Point and Dell Quay 1km upstream on the channel, settlement continued on the peninsula. Sidlesham villa near Keynor Farm saw continued activity until the mid-fourth century (Pitts 1979, 71 no23) and the site of a probable villa at Selsey has yielded many finds including a hoard of mid-fourth century coins (ibid 73 no 48), and there are many indications that activity continued on the peninsula through the Roman period (NMR). It may be that the area had functioned more as a channel for import and export trade or as an entrepôt, rather than as a centre of industry, and silting may have affected this. The project *Rhythms of the Tide*, investigating the changing situation in the harbour area in the Holocene, seeks to establish the history and dating of the silting (*Past Matters* 2006, 27 – 29). At Horse Pond on the shore near West Itchenor (SU 785010) shingle spits were found in the clay, calling to mind Ekwall's suggestion that *ōra* may signify a gravelly landing place. The names Solent and Wight would have been general knowledge to maritime traffic, but the large numbers of place-names in *port* and *ōra* bear witness to a not inconsiderable presence, and authority, of indigenous people along this coast and also inland on the Selsey peninsula, which may have continued into the early Saxon period.

Into this area of south Hampshire, where there is evidence of pockets of a strongly surviving sub-Roman population, came people of a Germanic culture. Good communication by road and river was available to Winchester, where a person or a group of people, who had sufficient authority to re-organise the city, appear to have allowed the incomers to settle in its environs. Inside the city walls there is evidence of activity in the Brooks area of the city, where in the damp, sometimes waterlogged soil sherds of fifth- or sixth-century pottery are thought to be residual, but it is suggested that horticulture and other activities were taking place here

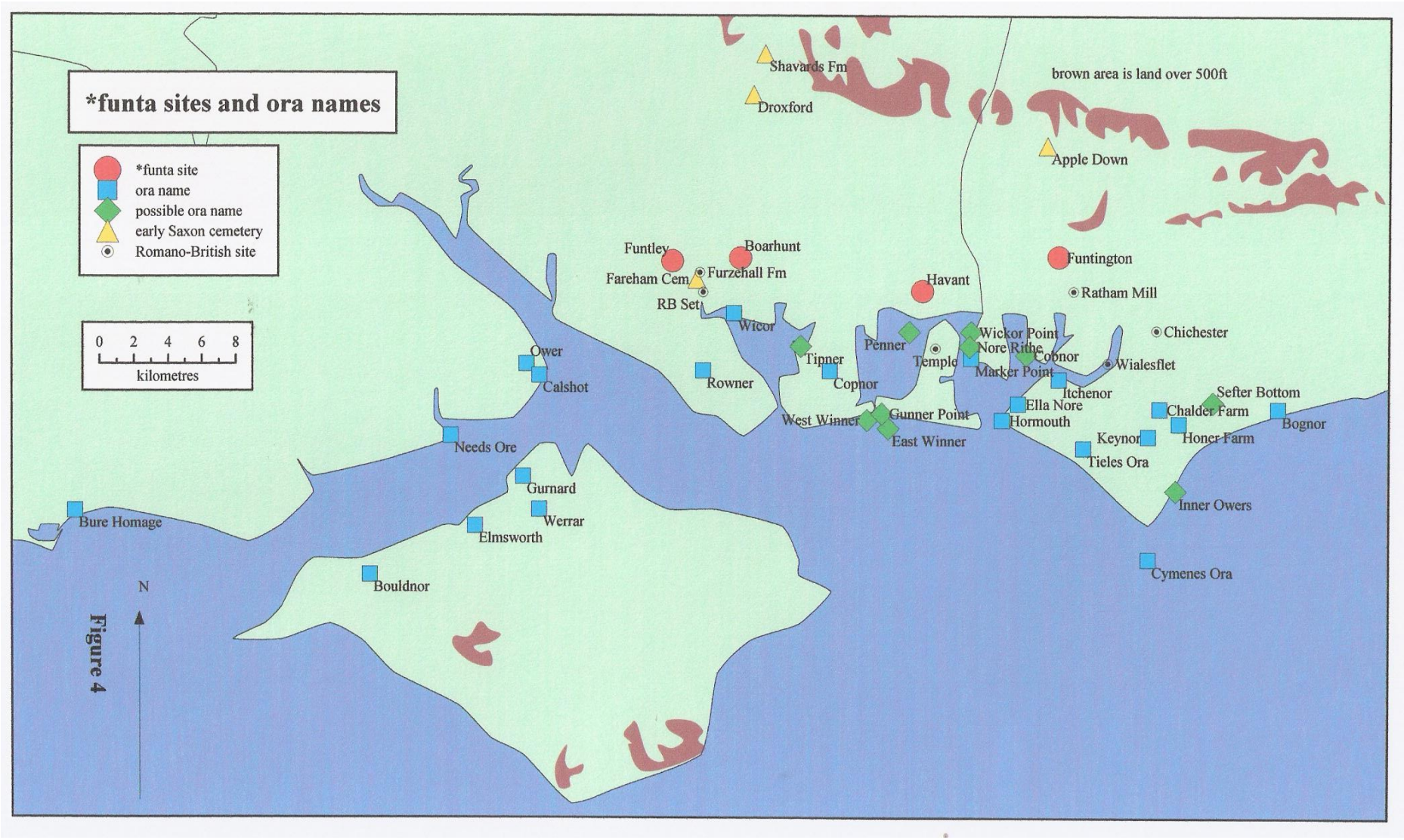
during the post-Roman period. It is theorised that burials very close to the city, on St Giles and West Hill, may relate to settlement within the walls (Biddle and Biddle 2007, 202). Upstream on the Itchen, 3km from the city wall, the cemetery at Worthy Park dates from the fifth century, and the excavators suggest that there was a settlement nearby, perhaps a *Wandersiedlung*, and perhaps another cemetery (Hawkes 2003) and the cemetery at Itchen Abbas primary school is believed also to span the late Roman to early Anglo-Saxon periods (HER site 32037). Finds by metal detectorists have enlarged the corpus of evidence, as metalwork dating to the fifth century has been found Abbots Barton, 1km to the north of the city wall, and at Barton Farm 1.5km to the north-west (Biddle and Biddle 2007, 209 – 10), also at St Cross, 1km to the south down the Itchen, and at Shawford 3km south (Proc HFC 2003, 59 – 62; 2004, 111 – 115). The city continued to develop as a seat of lay and ecclesiastical power, the surrounding Chilcomb estate, which may have represented the *territorium* of the Roman city, featuring in the endowment of the early Christian church here. The close proximity of the two ancient elements **ɥenta* and **cilta* suggests a long-standing connection. The Itchen valley was again important in early Saxon times, and Winchester became the seat of power of the West Saxons.

In the Meon valley there is likewise evidence of an early Germanic presence. In the later fifth century occupation showing a Germanic culture began on the site of the Meonstoke building, apparently using the plan and the wall-lines of the structure, with post-holes at the entrance and a sunken-featured building in the courtyard (King 1996, 58 – 60). There is evidence of an early Germanic culture all along the Meon valley (Biddle and Biddle 2007, 211). To the north and south of the Meonstoke site, finds at Shavards Farm and Droxford cemeteries of Germanic-style metalwork indicate not only a presence dating from the early part of the fifth century, but also links to the homelands in the form of Frankish rivets and a buckle (Aldsworth 1978;Appendix 1, 272, 274). Such finds suggest that it was not only the culture but also the people who were new to the area, and historical sources relate that the Meon valley was the home of a people of Jutish origin, whose territory extended from the border with the South Saxons in the east to include the New Forest in the West, perhaps bordering the territory of the Saxons in Winchester along the Itchen, with place-names reinforcing the territorial division (Yorke 1989; 1994).

At Portchester there is slight evidence that some occupation may have continued into the Saxon period (Cunliffe 1975). Valuable items of later fifth-century date were found, and potsherds indicate a sixth- and seventh-century occupation, a double-spiral-headed brooch is of seventh-century date, and a well was maintained to about 700. It may be that various parts of the enclosed area were occupied at various times, and in 904 the site was acquired by the king for its valuable defensive properties (Cunliffe 1975, 422 – 31; 1976a, 301 – 4). The name Portchester is of old English origin, though the *port* element is from Latin, and the second element of the Latin name, *Portus Adurni*, is of pre-English derivation (Rivet and Smith 1979, 441 – 2). It is thought that the area was known as *port* (Gelling 1988, 78 – 9). To the east, beyond the Solent, there is no evidence of an early Germanic presence, and indeed the urban walled area of Chichester appears

to have attracted no incomers (Kenny 2006). This may suggest that, unlike at Winchester, the place had no longer any authority, or that the people living there did not allow settlers, wishing to retain control of the Channel for themselves, and it may be notable that again unlike Winchester, the Roman name for the city was lost. On the coast trade may have declined but local place-names suggest that the area continued to be known as the *ōra (*Gelling 1984, 179 – 80). No early Anglo-Saxon settlement has so far been found in the peninsula, which is now known as the Manhood Peninsula (NMR), and if indeed Ælle and his sons landed here, they do not appear to have settled (ASC [A] *sub anno* 477). The closest site certainly dating to this period is the cemetery at Apple Down 1, many km to the north in the Downs (Appendix 1, 293). The evangelising St Wilfrid arrived to convert the pagans in the kingdom of the South Saxons in the seventh century, establishing a church at Selsey. The area appears to have been noted for its British occupation into Anglo-Saxon times. In S 232, AD673/ 683, but believed to be of tenth century compilation, there is mention of a place called *wialesflet (wyalesflet, wyalesfleot, vialesflet),* the *fleot* or inlet of the *wiales* (Welsh, British), which has been identified with either the entry to Bosham Channel or the creek which leads to Fishbourne and Chichester (Kelly 1998, 13). The name continued, as in S 1291, AD957, mention is made again of *Þealeflet,* obviously still a current name. This charter lists a grant of land at Selsey and elsewhere to bishop Wilfrid by Cædwalla, king of the West Saxons 685 - 688, at that time ruler of the kingdom of Sussex, for the construction of a monastery at Selsey; *ad consrtuandem monasterium in loco qui vocatur Seleseya* (Kelly 1998, 3). King Aeþelwealh granted to Wilfrid 87 hides of land at Selsey for the maintenance of his monastery, which was still thriving in the early eighth century (HE iv, 13). This site is traditionally thought to be at Selsey Bill, the NGR being currently under the sea (NMR_NATINV-462395), but it is more probably at Church Norton further inland (*Past Matters* 2006, 16) and the see was transferred to Chichester in 1075. Prior to the arrival of Wilfrid there was already a small monastery at Bosham, founded by an Irish monk called Dicuill (HE iv, 13) which later became a wealthy college assessed in 1086 at 112 hides, the manor of Bosham being taken from the Godwin family into the ownership of William I (DB 37, 40).

After the Germanic incursus the shore, or *ōra,* was settled and parts took the name of the settler as qualifier, or were named for topography, as parts of the *port* were, as in Portsmouth, which is paralleled by *Hormouth,* the entry to Chichester Harbour. The furthest name to the west, Bure, was in 1170 *Beora* (Gover 1961, 223), by or near the *ōra* but not quite in the named area. Fig 4 shows the *ōra* sites in relation to the four **funta* sites in Area 3. It has already been shown that early Anglo-Saxon settlement has not been found south of the west-east line of these sites. The density of the names in *–ōra* in the coastal peninsula appears to mark it as a named location, continuing after the withdrawal of Roman authority, and although the significance "seashore" applied originally only to the shore itself, the name gradually came to signify the inland area too. The extent of the area known as *ōra* appears to have been delineated to the north by the line of names in **funta*. Both elements, **funta* and *ōra* are from Latin and


*funta sites and ora names
*funta site
ora name
possible ora name
early Saxon cemetery
Romano-British site
0 2 4 6 8
kilometres
brown area is land over 500ft
Shavards Fm
Droxford
Apple Down
Funtley
Boarhunt
Fareham Cem
Furzehall Fm
RB Set
Wicor
Havant
Funtington
Ratham Mill
Chichester
Wickor Point
Nore Rithe
Penner
Temple
Tipner
Copnor
Marker Point
Wialesflet
Itchenor
Ella Nore
Hormouth
Sefter Bottom
Chalder Farm
Honer Farm
Bognor
Keynor
Tieles Ora
Inner Owers
Cymenes Ora
Ower
Calshot
Rowner
West Winner
Gunner Point
East Winner
Needs Ore
Gurnard
Werrar
Elmsworth
Bure Homage
Bouldnor
N
Figure 4

assumed to be of an early date, adopted, perhaps straight from Latin (Gelling 1988, 66) and adapted into Old English as place-name elements. If there were no early Anglo-Saxon settlement in the peninsula, as the lack of evidence suggests, the area would have continued to be in sub-Roman British hands. Traffic in the Channel would have continued, and the name *ōra* would have continued to be used in the same way that Solent and Wight kept their names. It may be that the *ōra* area was one of authority, of more than local significance, and in British hands, an area where early Germanic penetration was not allowed.

Individual sites:

Funtley (Appendix 1, 277 - 280)

South of Funtley is the Gosport peninsula. In the middle of the flat land of the peninsula lies Chark Common, and to the west of Portchester is Cams Hall. These names, together with the *ōra* names Wicor, Foxhore (at Chark) and Rowner and the local *port* names (see Appendix) suggest that a sub-Roman population continued in this area. Little archaeological evidence dating to the Roman period has come to light on the peninsula, though there may have been a Roman kiln on Chark Common (NMR_NATINV-234425). However, there are indications of an early Anglo-Saxon presence in the area. Occupation is known to have continued within the walls of Portchester Castle, 7km south of Funtley, during the fifth and sixth centuries, and Germanic presence, or a Germanic culture, is evidenced here by three sunken-featured buildings and two post-built huts, with a new sixth-century timber-lined well. The few artefacts demonstrate a continued connection with the homelands (Cunliffe1976a, 301;Appendix 1, 272). The local name Wicor demonstrates settlement outside the fort, whether this was a suburban *vīcus* or a later Saxon specialised site. At Cams Hall, where the Wallington River bends significantly and where a site dating from the LPRIA to the late Roman period has been excavated, there is evidence of a possible Germanic-style sunken-featured building (Proc HFC 2009, 81 – 104). Thus in this specific location there is evidence of a Roman building, Germanic building style and a Brittonic place-name. The name Wallington, which incorporates the OE element *wealh*, a Briton, indicates that there was a British settlement here which continued into the time when it was the Anglo-Saxons who bestowed names. Further evidence of an early Germanic culture has been found at the cemetery sites at Clapper Hill and Fareham 1 (Appendix 1, 279).

Funtley's present position is 6km upstream from the mouth of the Meon, and it is probable that any incomers would have entered the Meon rather than travel overland to the known sites on the river. A *wīchām* is 4km upstream from Funtley, and further upstream again are the sites at Droxford and Meonstoke. It may be that the *wīchām* was a site of acknowledged indigenous authority, Funtley signifying a point past which incomers were allowed. It appears that no incomers were allowed on the Gosport peninsula, or on the river below Funtley. In later times Funtley became a place of some local importance (Appendix 1, 279), though physical evidence is lacking.

Boarhunt (Appendix 1, 281 - 4).

There is nothing to suggest that Boarhunt was of any importance in late Roman times. It lies less than 2km south of the road from Havant to Wickham, between the northern dipslope of the Portsdown Hills and the land which in earlier times would have been covered by the Forest of Bere. The only other attested pre-English name locally is Wickham, on the Meon 5km to the north-west, whose name suggests that it may have been a site of some indigenous authority. Likewise there is no evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence closer than the Meon valley or Portchester Castle, some 9km to the south, the Portsdown Hills a barrier between. Boarhunt Mill is 1km north on the little river Wallington and this, and Walton Heath beyond, may in their names incorporate *wealh*, though without early forms it is impossible to be sure. At a distance of 5km north of Boarhunt church is Huntbourne Farm. The earliest form of the name is *hunteburne* (Winchester College Archives 11827, c1217) so a suggestion that this may also have been a **funta* site is based on topography, as an intermittent spring rises here, feeding the bourne. A chapel existed here in the nineteenth century. The farm is 2.5km east of the Meon and may have been on the northern edge of the Forest of Bere in earlier times (personal research). The importance of Boarhunt as a **funta* may have been its proximity to the road, along which incomers may have passed to reach the Meon valley. Perhaps Boarhunt and Funtley were guarding the *wīchām.* During the period of Roman administration, the Meon valley may have formed part of the territory of the Regni rather than the Belgae, but in the late fifth century it became home to a group of people who used a cemetery at Droxford, the Meonware, mentioned by Bede (HE iv, 13), probably a sub-group in the Jutish territory of south Hampshire (Yorke 1989, 70). This group of people lost any independence they may have had initially, and appear to have lacked prestigious leaders to protect them against the emerging kingdoms of West and South Saxons. Apart from part of a silver radiate brooch which was retrieved from Grave 12, all the brooches from Droxford are of bronze, 7 of which are gilt (Aldsworth 1978). At his baptism, Æþelwulf of the South Saxons (pre-675 – c685) received the territory of the Meonware from Wulfhere of Mercia, who was obviously in a position to donate this land. At some later date the territory came under the authority of the West Saxon kingdom (Yorke 1994; 1989, 96). The Meon itself never appears to have been a boundary, rather the centre of a disputed area. Eventually the boundary between the two kingdoms was fixed, but West, Up and East Marden are all now in Sussex, suggesting either a liminal zone or a wandering dividing line.

At Boarhunt the close proximity of **funta* and early church is to be noted, also the first element of the name which signifies an enclosed site, perhaps the forerunner of the present Manor Farm. In the tenth century Boarhunt was owned by Old Minster at Winchester, later by Southwick Priory (Appendix 1, 281).

Havant (Appendix 1, 285 - 9)

In the late Roman period occupation and activity are still evidenced at *Spes Bona*, the villa between the **funta* and the shore, until at least the end of the fourth century. Other villa sites along the road to the west had seen a decline (Appendix 1, 287 - 8). Traffic along the roads appears to have continued, according to pottery finds at *Spes Bona* and coins under the church. The other pre-English name locally, Hendy Quay (*ōra*) suggests that maritime trade continued, and to the west on Portsdown Hills Camp Down may possibly be another pre-English name.

The church of St Faith may be of early date: Roman coins were discovered in the foundations and Roman material is incorporated in the fabric. The Homewell lies within 40m south of the church, apparently more important than other springs which emerge nearby (Pile 2002). The church is at the intersection of the two Roman roads, and it may be that it took over the rôle of the temple on Hayling Island which fell out of use in the early third century, though a few late third- early fourth-century coins were found here (Downey et al 1979, 15). The route meeting seems to have been important, halfway between Chichester and Wickham, where a *mansio* may have been established. A market may have developed here, near the Rowlands Castle pottery industry, coastal salt production, quays, fishing and farm produce from the estates to the west (Hughes 1976, 70).

No evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence has been noted locally, as the cemetery at Camp Hill may date to the seventh to ninth centuries (Appendix 1, 288). At the former temple site on Hayling Island the earliest Saxon finds date to the sixth or seventh century, and to the north the village at Chalton appears to have begun in the seventh century. It is as if there were an hiatus during which only coastal trade continued, in Langstone Harbour, to the west in Portsmouth Harbour and east in Chichester Harbour, but this may be in fact be due to the invisibility of the resident population.

Havant was a possession of the Old Minster at Winchester in the tenth century (S 430 AD 935) and is listed in Domesday as held by the monks of the bishopric of Winchester. It became a liberty in the hundred of Bosmere. The county boundary between Hampshire and West Sussex is 3km to the east, at Emsworth, with Marker Point on Thorney Island testifying to the fact of an earlier boundary.

Funtington (Appendix 1, 290 - 4)

In the final period of Roman authority there is little evidence of what was going on at Funtington. Chichester, 7km to the south-east, provides no information, and at the villa sites to the north of Funtington dating evidence fails after the late fourth century. The temple site at Ratham Mill had its heyday in the first and second centuries AD (Appendix 1, 292). The only other pre-English name is Critchfield, Bosham, 4km south, but there are many *ōra* names along the coast, Bognor lying some 14km eastward from Funtington. It is notable that the late fifth-century cemetery at Apple Down 1 is well inland from the coastal area, 7km north of Funtington. The Germanic settlement of this part of West Sussex is at present uncertain.

Even though substantive evidence from the locality of Funtington is sparse for the late Roman to early Anglo-Saxon period, nevertheless there other factors which suggest that this was a site of some traditional significance. It is located at the west end of a series of ditches running west from the river Arun, and at a point where the brickearth and clay of the coastal plain meet the rising chalk of the Downs. Funtington is equidistant from Roman Chichester and late fifth-century Apple Down, north of a coastal strip where there is no evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence but place-names which indicate a continuing indigenous authority and control. The present county boundary runs an erratic course about 5km west of Funtington, which is discussed under Boarhunt.

These extra-linguistic factors relating to the situation of Funtington add to the evidence for including it as a **funta* site.

Summary of Area 3.

Winchester is a dominating feature in this area, an important seat of continuing authority which attracted early Anglo-Saxon settlers. The Meon valley above Wickham was also a place where late Roman occupation was succeeded by an early Anglo-Saxon presence, though continuity is not indicated here.

A *wīchām* is believed to have been a seat of some indigenous authority, often near a Roman road and away from an urban site (Gelling 1988, 67 – 71). Wickham in the Meon valley is near a road and about 24km from Winchester, across country, so fits these criteria. Boarhunt and Funtley may have some territorial association with Wickham.

Although it cannot be finally demonstrated that the coastal area from the Gosport peninsula to Bognor was an area of British authority, the large number of names in *port* and *ōra*, together with the lack of early Anglo-Saxon archaeological material, strongly suggest that this was so. Funtley, Havant and Funtington lie inland of this stretch of territory, appearing as demarcation points. The natural boundary of the Portsdown Hills appears to have been continued to the east by the series of dykes which extend to the Arun, a traditional boundary.

In this area there seem to be distinct areas of British and Germanic authority, signalled by the pre-English place-names and by the positions of the **funta* sites.

Area 4, East Sussex, Bedfordwell, Founthill, F(r)ontridge.

Pre-English names in this area.

Included here are those names which are securely attested, or generally accepted, as being of pre-English derivation, and also some names which may be of pre-English derivation but are considered doubtful or insecure.
The names are all in east Sussex except where a different county is indicated in the text.
Details of this area will be found in Appendix 1, 297 - 315.
Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Andred(esweald)
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 1; Ekwall 1960, 10; Rivet and Smith 1979, 250 – 2; Coates 1991a; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Appendix 1, 55 - 56.
The Romano-British form *Anderitum* is from the more probably correct form **Anderitu*
Celtic **rïd*, British **ritu*, a ford. Cf Welsh *rhyd*
+ intensive particle *and- > an > ande*
"big ford".
The name continued to be used for the forest for centuries, appearing in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) sub *anno* 893.

Barcombe TQ 419143
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 312 - 3; Ekwall 1960, 25; Gelling 1978, 76; Watts 2004, 34.
DB *Bercham*
1200 *Bercamp*
1233 *Berecomp*
OE *bere + comp* < Latin *campus*, later confused with *cumb*
"An outlying field where barley is grown".

Bedfordwell TV 612998
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 427; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 305.
1486 *Bedefonte*
1551 *Bedfontwell*
pers n *Bæda* > gen sing *Bædan + *funta*
*"Bæda's *funta".*

Camp Hill, The Comp (trackway) TQ 495015
Coates 2000, in Coates and Breeze 2000, 45 – 6; see also Gelling 1978, 75 – 8.
OE *comp* < Latin *campus*
"An outlying or derelict field".

Comp Barn TQ 515043
Coates 2000, in Coates and Breeze 2000, 45 – 6; see also Gelling 1978, 75 – 8.

OE *comp* < Latin *campus*
"An outlying or derelict field".

Comps Farm TQ 455079
Coates 2000, in Coates and Breeze 2000, 45 – 6; see also Gelling 1978, 75 – 8.
OE *comp* < Latin *campus*
"An outlying or derelict field".

East Chiltington TQ 370151
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 299; Ekwall 1960, 104; Coates 1983 – 4, 7 – 15; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Watts 2004, 134.
S 106 AD 764 for 767 *Ciltinne*
DB *Childeltune, Childentune*
1212 *Chilting'*
ancient pre-English **ciltā,* "a steep slope", > *ciltine*, district name + OE – *tūn*
Coates believes the district to have been extensive, including the modern parishes of both East and West (not mapped) Chiltington. S 106 includes a reference to a place called *wicham* in the district of *ciltine,* discussed in Coates 1983 – 4 and see below. This makes a district name more likely than two instances of the same name distinguished by location, and compares with the name of the Chilterns (Area 11).

Firle TQ 471072
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 359 – 60; Ekwall 1960, 180; Coates and Breeze 2000, 44 – 53, 337; Watts 2004, 231.
S 1183 AD (c771 x 780) x 786 *id est terram iii tributariorum firolalandes quatenus appellantur hiis nominibus Peartingawird', Wealingawird'*
DB *Ferle, -a*
1189 (14c) *Ferles*
This appears to have been the name of a district, which included Frog Firle and a lost Pig Firle. The places named in S 1183 are as yet unidentified. Mawer and Stenton describe this name as "unique and difficult".
The derivation of the name has been considered to be from a supposed but unknown cognate of OHG **fereh, -eih,* oak. Coates (Coates and Breeze above) suggests a derivation from VL *feralis* > *loca feralia* > Brittonic **ferol* > OE **feorol*, "wild, uncultivated land", which seems more acceptable on linguistic grounds, and more convincing on historical and topographic grounds.

Founthill TQ 421202
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 317; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 309.
1296 *Matilda atte Funte*
1327 *Simoun ate Founte*
Newick Church Marks *Founters*
**funta* + OE *–hyll*

Area 4 East Sussex
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
find
wicham
N
0 2 4 6 8
kilometres
dark green area is land over 500ft
River Linden
Bardown
Shoyswell
Frontridge Manor
Furnace Gill
Sedlescombe
Wickham Manor
Beauport Park
River Cuckmere
River Ouse
Fourthill
Wickham Barn
Barcombe
East Chiltington
Hurst Wickham
Wyckham Farms
South Malling
Lewes
Firle
Beddingham
Comps Farm
Selmeston
Comp Barn
Alfriston
Camp Hill
Newhaven
Bishopstone
Anderitu
Bedfordwell
St Annes Road Cemetery
Villa
Ocklynge Hill
Pashley Road
Bullock Down

Figure 5

F(r)ontridge TQ 704246
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 462; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 312.
1248 *Fonteregg'*
1262 *Funterugge*
**funta* + OE *-hrycg*

Lewes TQ 415103
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 6, 318; Ekwall 1960, 297; Coates 1990 – 1; Coates 1997, 141 – 2; Forsberg 1997; Gelling 1978, 134; Gelling and Cole 2000, 179; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Watts 2004, 371.
AD 911 x 19 (1562) *to Loewe*
AD 925 x 35 (12c) "
S 1211 AD c960 *wiþ Læwe*
S 1212 AD c961 (13c) *juxta Læwes*
The derivation of this name has given rise to much discussion. Originally it was believed to be from OE *hlæw* (sing), "a hill", referring to the hill on which Lewes is situated (Mawer and Stenton, Ekwall), then from *hlæwas* (pl), referring to the numerous tumuli in the district surrounding the town (Gelling 1978; also see Bleach 1997). However these topographic derivations have been queried on linguistic grounds (Coates 1990 – 1; 1997), as no pre-Conquest spellings have an initial *h-*, and a derivation from *hlæwas* should be monosyllabic, which has in fact now been found locally. A derivation from Brittonic *?*leχwe > lexowiās* was proposed (ibid). Now Watts, following Forsberg, suggests a derivation from OE *læw,* "a gash", referring to the gap in the Downs near Lewes.
Thus the possible derivations which have been put forward are from
OE *hlæw,* hill, *hlæwes,* tumuli
Brittonic **Lexowias,* slope
OE *læw,* gash, gap.

Limden, river-name, ?lost district name
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 5, 7; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337, 352 – 3.
1441 *stream called Lymbourne*
The possible full name may be *Lymenburne.*
It is suggested that the first element may be from *lïμVn,* associated with Celtic *lem-,* "elm", or **lïμ,* "marsh". The original form and meaning of this element is not yet established.
The Limden flows into the Rother near Etchingham. The name Rother is an early (1176) back-formation from Rotherfield, and the river was previously called *Liminel, Lymmene, Lymene* (Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 7).

Warningcamp TQ 030060
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 173; Gelling 1978, 76.
DB *Warnecham, Garneca(m)*
1242 *Warnekomp, Warnescamp*
1263 *Warnecamp(e)*

Possibly from a pers n **Wærnōþ,* diminutive **Wærna*, gen sing **Wærnan + camp*, "the field which belongs to *Wærna".*

Wickham Barn TQ 391152
Coates 1983 – 4, 10.
S 106 AD 764 for 767 *wichama in ciltine*
OE *wīchām*
Coates believes this charter entry refers to this place.

Wickham, Hurst and **Clayton** TQ 292166
Coates 1983 – 4, 10.
OE *wīchām*

Wickham Manor TQ 899165
OS 124
wīchām
This in the far east of the county, beyond Hastings.

Wyckham Farms, Wood TQ 190129
Mawer and Stenton 1929 – 30, 237; Coates 1983 – 4, 9 – 10.
OE *wīchām.*

Discussion.

It may be misleading to group these three sites together merely because they are all in an area which is today called East Sussex. There are considerable distances between the sites and there is no obvious geographical connection, as Fontridge is in the High Weald, Founthill is in the Low Weald and Bedfordwell is on the coast. However, the whole area was in the Roman period a source of clay and iron, though these industries had largely declined by the mid-third century (Appendix 1, 299 - 301). The pre-English names cluster mainly along the valley of the Ouse, where the land would have been attractive, but enclaves of indigenous survival are indicated by names elsewhere in the area.

Geology and topography

The topography of the area is characterised by the extreme differences in altitude between the High Weald, Low Weald, South Downs and the valleys cut by the rivers which rise in these areas and make their way to the sea, and the narrow coastal areas west and east of Beachy Head. Large expanses of the eastern coastal area were inundated in the first century AD (Sheldon 1978, 3; Rudling 1998, 42 Fig 1). The eastern limit of the South Downs is at Beachy Head, and the underlying rock of the Downs is chalk, overlain by clay with flints which is difficult but not impossible to till. The valleys of the Ouse and the Cuckmere, which run north – south through the chalk Downs, have narrow bands of alluvium, useful for growing crops and for water-borne transport routes. The Downs would also provide pasture for animals from the farms in the valleys. Running along the north and south edges of the Downs there are in places steep scarp slopes, difficult to

negotiate but providing significant locales and definite territorial limits should these be necessary. Between the north edge of the chalk Downs and the high ground of the High Weald are bands of greensand, the Low Weald, and running along the northern edge of these is a band of Wealden clay. Underlying the High Weald itself are areas of Tunbridge Wells and Ashdown sands, topped with varied patches of sand and gravel and clay, making a difficult area to farm but providing an immense resource of timber from native oak, ash and beech, and offering an area of pasture such as pannage for swine. To the east of Beachy Head and stretching to Romney Marsh is the alluvium of the land which was formerly inundated and which has, over the centuries, gradually silted up, and which would have provided a resource of fowl and fish during the late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods. The salt works near Eastbourne may have been overseen by the state during Roman times (Mattingly 2007, 510).

The iron industry (Appendix 1, 299 - 301) depended on local deposits of various types of ore, the best being sideritic ore often found in nodules, accessible by hand where small streams, such as the Limden, cut through the soft surface clay and exposed them. They could also be exposed where Roman roads were constructed, the slag from the iron-working furnaces eventually being used to surface other stretches of road. However, such surface gathering of ore nodules would last in one place for only short periods of time, which led to the known short duration of most of the iron-working sites. Furnaces for smelting and roasting also demanded large quantities of timber for charcoal, easily provided by the branch wood of the available trees, while sandstone provided material for the construction of the furnaces themselves. In this eastern part of Sussex the production of iron was of relatively short duration (Cleere 1974, 1978; Money1978). The clay of the Weald was a useful resource for the manufacture of tiles, and at some sites such as Bardown in the valley of the Limden tile-making was carried out as well as iron-working, but the site with the largest production of both was at Beauport Park near Battle. Both these sites had ceased production by the mid-third century (Cleere 1974, 188; Appendix 1, 299).

It is against this background of early activity but later recession that the settlement pattern of the area must be set.

Settlement and power-bases

This part of Sussex was in early Roman times less prestigious than the western part around Chichester (Appendix 1, 291 - 2, under Funtington). Once the *Classis Britannica* had left Dover the iron industry was less vital, and the unstable political situation in the Channel militated against any economic recovery. The Saxon Shore fort at Pevensey (*Anderitu*) may also have affected adversely any local prosperity (Rudling 1998, 46), though greensand quarried near the Eastbourne villa was used in its construction (Sutton 1952; Gilbert and Stevens 1973, 32; Appendix 1, 299). The general picture in this part of Britain throughout the fourth century is one of reduced activity, with iron and tile production virtually at an end and a few settlement sites continuing at subsistence level. The place-name evidence suggests that the area was not totally deserted: some land continued to be farmed and named, not only in terms significant to farmers but also in a

Vulgar Latin tongue. The name Firle possibly denotes an area rather than a place, and may well describe land which was uncultivated and unused, and there are a number of fields named from the Latin word *campus*. Places called *wīchām* indicate that such indigenous occupation was acknowledged by incoming speakers of Old English. It is believed that the farmstead on Bullock Down, on Beachy Head, was still operative until at least the late fourth century, and possibly into the fifth (Miles 1982, 282 – 4). The villa at Newhaven had probably been abandoned during the fourth century, the Eastbourne villa perhaps earlier than this (Scott 1993, 59; Appendix 1, 306). At Beddingham villa, south of Lewes between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, evidence indicates that the villa itself went into decline after the third century, and by the end of the fourth or in the early fifth century part of the site was already occupied by people using pottery of a Saxon style. Thus either Germanic people, or their culture, were penetrating the area at this early date; the artefacts suggest that the people were actually immigrants (Rudling 1998, 52 – 9).

The archaeological and historical evidence suggests that there was an identifiable Germanic presence in this part of Sussex, between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, during the latter part of the fifth century, where five cemeteries between the two rivers again indicate immigrant occupation rather than just a culture change. In these cemeteries the principal brooch style is saucer, there are early forms of throwing axe and the iron and glass objects found here are stylistically related to similar artefacts found in North Gaul and the Rhineland. These apparently immigrant folk, using artefacts of Saxon and Frankish design, demonstrate a connection with Rome, as they used the Late Roman burial custom of inhumation with west-east orientation, also used in parts of Gaul and the Rhineland where mercenaries were stationed (Welch 1983, 184, 209, 222). It has been suggested that these people may also have been mercenaries, who were originally settled on available land, where no villas had been established, and controlled by the local Romano-British population, and who later became more aggressive and extended their territory. The entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub annis* 465, 471 and 477, may or may not relate to such a legendary settlement and territorial extension (Appendix 1, 301 - 3). However it has more recently been suggested that the notion of an agreed and controlled original settlement in an unoccupied parcel of land may be erroneous, since an early fifth-century brooch has been found in an unexcavated cemetery at Keymer, north of Brighton, but this was not in situ and the grave could have been later (Welch 1989, 81), and the carinated pottery found at Beddingham, west of the Ouse, is within the villa complex (Rudling 1998, 52). It may be that Germanic occupation may in fact have spread from the west, from the known early site at Highdown, where there is also evidence of a Romano-British phase (Dudley 1980; Welch 1989, 81).

The origins of the kingdom of the South Saxons are obscure. Reconstructions of the political development of the area must be based on charter evidence and by analogy with other kingdoms (Kelly 1998, lxxiii – lxxxiv). It appears that this stretch of land between the Meon in the west and Walland Marsh in the east was fragmented, and subject to multiple kingship, with no overall ruler apart from a brief period under Æþelwealh

(pre-675 – c685). The western part of the kingdom then came under the control of Wessex, with various local rulers, the whole finally coming under the dominion of Mercia at some point between 770 and 772 (ibid lxxx), after which men previously called *reges* in a grant of land (S50) became *duces* in later charters. This long period of fragmented political control mirrors, and is perhaps due to, the fragmented nature of the topography. The terrain is naturally divided by the rivers which run north to south, and it appears that in the immediate post-Roman period that population decline meant that settlement retracted to these river valleys, leaving the upland areas for pasture (Gardiner 2003, 151 – 2). No centralised power-base emerged, no prestigious, elite burials are known (Semple 2008, 422), no, or little, cross-Channel trade developed despite the long coastline and river estuaries (Gardiner 2003, 158). There was no concentration of power, wealth or control to facilitate the emergence of a unified state or ruler to organise such activity. As in modern times, a division into west and east may have emerged, with centres at Chichester and perhaps at Lewes (Welch 1989, 79 – 80). The edges of the territory were also fluid: in the 660s – 70s the Meon valley and Isle of Wight were given to Æþelwealh, but taken back into Wessex c685 by Cædwalla, and the furthest part to the east, the Hastings area, appears to have been a separate area, at times part of Kent and a buffer or liminal zone, finally taken by Offa in 771, and charter evidence indicates that Kentish tenurial customs were more usual here (Welch 1983, 274). In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E) entry for 1011 the area is listed separately

ealle Centingas 7 Suð Seaxe 7 Hæstingas

and again in 1050

þa men of Hæstingaceastre7 þærabutan (ASC [D])

and still in 1052

*ealle Kentingas 7 ealle þa butescarles of Hæstingan 7 þær .....7 Suðsexan..(*ASC[C])

The Hastings area appears to have been considered separate for a long time. It may be that the fragmentation of this whole area is underlined by the distances between the **funta* sites in East Sussex mentioned above.

Individual sites:

Bedfordwell (Appendix 1, 305 - 8).

There is a dearth of evidence from the late Roman period in the area local to Bedfordwell (Appendix 1, 305 - 6). Only the **funta* element in the name itself testifies to any continuation of human presence nearer than the farming settlement on Bullock Down, which may indeed have been the nearest. However, the evidence from the early Anglo-Saxon period is illuminating. It will be seen from the diagrammatic map that all known

early Anglo-Saxon sites are to the west of Bedfordwell, and of all the five cemeteries between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, that at Alfriston has produced artefacts which are securely dated to the second half of the fifth century. The main cemetery site to have been excavated here in 1912 – 13 revealed some 165 graves out of a suggested possible total of 200, with 40 male and 34 female, containing the only three great square-headed brooches found to date in Sussex, fifth-century throwing axes and glass items. These glass items may have been acquired from the Romano-British population (Welch 1983, 183). The cemetery continued in use from the second part of the fifth century until the first half of the seventh (ibid 387) and it is estimated that the associated settlement may have had a population of some thirty to forty people (Welch 1983, i 163, 188 – 211, 217, ii 345 – 389). Alfriston is some 9km west of Bedfordwell, with the scarp of the east side of Beachy Head between. A further cemetery was found at Selmeston, 4km north of Alfriston and some 11km from Bedfordwell, partly excavated between 1897 and 1979, where two fifth-century glass vessels and a throwing axe similar to those from Alfriston were found (Welch 1983, i 219, ii 389 – 91). Nearer to Bedfordwell, just a kilometre to the west and below Beachy Head, a cemetery was found on St Anne's Road where some graves date to the second half of the fifth century, with artefacts similar to those found at Alfriston (Appendix 1, 307). Quite a sizeable Germanic community appears to have grown up close to Bedfordwell.

There is strong evidence of continued Romano-British occupation on Bullock Down (Gardiner 2003, 152), and strong evidence of a wider early Anglo-Saxon presence both on the Down and very close to Bedfordwell at St Anne's Road, but no evidence of either to the east between Bedfordwell and Pevensey (*Anderitu*). Beyond Pevensey to the east is the land liable to inundation, then the later territory of the *Hæstingas*. To the north and east of Bedfordwell there is no evidence of either Romano-British or early Germanic people, and the sea is to the south, so Bedfordwell seems to be on the edge of a territory where there is no early Anglo-Saxon material culture.

It may be that the **funta* at Bedfordwell was an agreed point as a terminus of early Anglo-Saxon penetration from the west. It may also be that the stream whose name, *mearcredesburna,* includes the element *mearc-,* indicating a boundary, (Appendix 1, 301 - 3) was not the Cuckmere, as has been suggested, but the little bourne from which Eastbourne takes its name, the place called merely *Borne* or *Burne* in 1086, becoming *Estburn* by 1279 (Ekwall 1960, 156), and across which *Æ*lle, or a successor of his, and their men are said to have burst to take the fort at *Anderitu* in AD 491. The **funta* may have been the place where the agreement about the boundary (*mearc*) was made, but after the stream had been crossed, the significance of the **funta* was obsolete.

Founthill (Appendix 1, 309 - 11).

There is no evidence of a continuing iron industry locally, and all evidence points to a general decline, or lack, of activity in the area after the fourth century. However, the name itself, and the use of the appellative *wīchām,* suggests that there were people living hereabouts in the fifth

century. No evidence is known of an early Anglo-Saxon presence or culture in this locality. However, to the east of Founthill is the path of the Roman road from Lewes to London, which crosses the river some 2km from Founthill, and it may be that the Ouse provided a route for incoming Germanic folk, who may have been permitted to penetrate northwards as far as the crossing of the Ouse and the Roman road. It has been suggested that in the early medieval period Sussex was divided north to south into two parts, perhaps similar to the two divisions today (Welch 1983, 79 – 80). If the Ouse were the earlier dividing line, then Founthill lay just inside West Sussex, perhaps marking a point beyond which early incomers were not tolerated.

Another possibility for the use of the element **funta* may be that in this apparently undesirable and backward area, where the ancient element **cilta* continued in use and speakers of Old English found and named at some point two instances of Romano-British survival at a *wīchām*, a distinctly British community with pre-English speech survived into the early medieval period. The Old English word **funta* is believed to have developed in the early sixth century (Jackson 1953, 680), and may have been used as a qualifying element in this area of numerous springs, with no added significance. The generic *-hyll* is found with many obscure qualifying elements, and such names may be of relatively late origin (Gelling and Cole 2000, 192), indicating a late arrival of Germanic people or their speech. The nearby settlement of Newick is not named in Domesday, so perhaps this area was of limited economic importance.

F(r)ontridge (Appendix 1, 312 - 4).

In the late Roman period there may still have been localised iron-working in this area. In the valley of the Limden, the site at Bardown ceased activity after AD 200, though there is some evidence of casual re-occupation during the third century, and the buildings which were formerly used for the iron and tile works, and which may have been deliberately demolished, were covered by domestic rubbish. Small satellite sites at Coalpit Wood, Doozes Farm and Shoyswell Wood may have continued production on a small scale until perhaps AD 400 (Cleere 1974, 185, 190 – 9). Apart from the name Fontridge, the only other local pre-English name is that of the Limden. There is no material evidence of an early Germanic presence in the locality, but it is suggested that any incoming settlers may have sought access to the oak forest of the Weald, from a coastal landing point at Rye, up the Rother to Robertsbridge and thence overland via a network of tracks (Witney 1976, 17 – 30). The name Etchingham was *Hechingahā* (1158), *E c(c)hingeham* (12 – 14c) etc, derived from the personal name *Ećći* + *-ingas* + *hamm*, thereby naming the place as the river meadow of the followers of *Ećći* (Watts 2004, 219). Names in *–ingas* were previously held to be of early date, given to primary rather than secondary settlements, a view that is now challenged (Gelling 1978, 106 – 9), but nevertheless indicate Germanic settlement at some point. The topography of the area may have supported a complex agricultural organisation (Bell 1978, 68), with farms in the valleys using the higher woodland areas as pasture. Later place-names with the generic *–denn*, such

as Horsmonden (Kent), *Horsburdenne* (1100), indicate areas for swine pannage. On the bank of the Rother some 4km to the north of Fontridge, a line of field-names, Etonden, Hammerden, Witherenden and Dens Wood, along the steep slopes overlooking the valley bear this out.

Summary.

The area here under scrutiny appears to have been important for its resources in Roman times, probably an Imperial Estate and controlled by the *Classis Britannica* until the third century when the withdrawal of Roman interest, and perhaps authority, left the indigenous population vulnerable, though the fort at Pevensey appears still to have been manned, affording some protection. Germanic people seem to make an appearance in the later fifth century, whether they were invited, or allowed, to settle by the indigenous population. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* portrays a tale of force, in its account for 491 of the attack on *Anderitu,* whereas a more peaceful expansion is indicated by place- and field-names around Fontridge, and merely suggested as a possibility for the Founthill locality. Even though the *Chronicle* gives a date for the taking of *Anderitu,* this may be challenged (eg Bell 1978, 64), and no dating evidence is at present known for the *adventus* into the valleys of the Rother and the Ouse. Each site must be considered in its own locality, within the sketchy history of the development of the kingdom of the South Saxons.

Area 11, to the north and west of London, Bedfont, Chalfont, Bedmond, Cheshunt.

Pre-English names in this area.

Included here are those names which are securely attested, or generally accepted, as being of pre-English derivation, and also some names which may be of pre-English derivation but are considered insecure or doubtful. Since this area includes a large tract of land, the pre-1974 county is given after each entry. The names given here form a large group as they are all around London, so this section is a mini-gazetteer for the whole of Area 11 in order to avoid too many short lists and too much fragmentation.
Details of this area will be found in Appendix 1, 363 - 399.

Ashford, Middx TQ 070710
Gover et al 1942, 1, 11 – 12; Ekwall 1960, 15; Gelling 1978, 98; Coates and Breeze 2000, 142 – 4; Gelling and Cole 2000, 34, 76 – 7; Watts 2004, 21; Baker 2006, 163, 208.
S 702 AD 962 *Eclesbroc*
S 774 AD 969 *Ecclesford*
DB *Exeforde*
This name appears to be simple but the early forms have given rise to discussion which is not yet resolved. The palatalised medial –c- shows that the first element cannot be from *ecles*, a church. This phoneme developed in Old English in the mid- or late sixth century (Jackson 1953, 565 – 9). Derivations from a personal name, or from a pre-English river name, have been suggested. Derivation from a river name is favoured by Ekwall (1960, 15, 159) and by Gelling (Gelling and Cole 2000, 76 - 7), while derivation from a personal name is also suggested by Ekwall (1960, 15) and favoured by Breeze (Coates and Breeze 2000, 142 – 4).
To support the case for a river name, other instances are given: the Ecclesbourne near Derby, Echinswell, Hants, which is near the *ec(e)lsburna* and the River Egel in Glamorgan. A form **Ecel* is posited by Gelling as a river name.
However, the forms which have as second element *–ford* or *–brōc* (as here in Ashford) would probably not refer to a river, and Breeze suggests a British personal name **Eccel*, similar to that of the Welsh hero *Echel.*
If the first element is a pre-English river name, then it is unsurprising as many surviving river names are of pre-English use (Jackson 1953, 200 - 25).
If the first element is a personal name, it may indicate a survival of British presence into the Anglo-Saxon period. Breeze suggests that this is more likely as neighbouring Chertsey, south of the Thames, has as first element the British name *Cerot* (Coates and Breeze 2000, 143 - 4).
Watts introduces the possibility that the first element of Ashford may be from OE **ėċels,* land added to an estate. Watts places Ashford in Surrey. The place-name is included here as a possibility.

Beane, river-name.
Ekwall 1928; Gover et al 1938, 1; Coates and Breeze 2000, 365; Baker 2006, 158 – 9, 161.
ASC (A) *sub anno* 913 *Her on þys geare ymb Martines mæssan het Eadward cyning atimbran þa norðran burg æt Heorotforda betweox mermeran 7 Beneficcan 7 Lygean*
Celtic river name, possibly from cognate of Irish *bun*, Welsh *ben*, "a woman", so "goddess", + *ficcan* cognate of Welsh *bychan,* Old Bret *bihan*, "little", but this is unproven.
The position of the elements is important. The noun here precedes the adjective, instead of the reverse, a structural change which took place in the later sixth century. Thus this name was coined after this date, indicating that in the area Brittonic speech continued at this time (Gelling 1978, 99).

Bedfont, Middlesex TQ 085736
Gover et al 1942, 12 – 13; Ekwall 1960, 34; Gelling 1977; Gelling and Cole 2000, 17 – 18; Watts 2004, 46; Appendix 1, 372.
DB *Bedefunt, Bedefunde*
OE *byden + *funta*
"A spring with a container of some sort".

Bedmond, Herts TL 099039
Gover et al 1938, 76; Gelling 1977; Gelling and Cole 2000, 17 – 18; Watts 2004, 47; Appendix 1, 383.
1331 *Bedesunta*
1433 *Bedfunte*
t Ed 6 *Bedmont, Bedmond, Bedmondeponde*
OE *byden + *funta*
"A spring with a container of some sort".

Bernwood, Bucks SP 740260
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 132 – 3; Ekwall 1960, 39; Gelling and Cole 2000, 257, 260; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 148.
ASC (A) *sub anno* 921 (917) 7 *comon on ungearwe men genomon unlytel ægþer ge on mannum ge on ierfe betweox Byrnewuda 7 Æglesbyrig*
brïnn, "a hill", via metathesis *byrne*, + OE *wudu*
Now the name of a farm, Bernwood was previously the name of a forest area.
Ekwall suggests a derivation from OE *byrgen*, "a burial mound", but Gelling refutes this as being unlikely to refer to such an extensive area as Bernwood.

Brent, river-name.
Ekwall 1928, lvi,51; Gover et al 1938, 1- 2; Gover et al 1942, 1; Coates and Breeze 2000, 360; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
S 1450 AD 951? for 959 *7lang stræte into Brægінte, up 7lang Bræg'en'te innan fihte burnan ……. 7lang hagan to grendeles gatan æfter kincges mearce innan brægentan*
A Brittonic name from Brigantia, the name of a goddess.

Brickendon, Herts TL 330 080
Gover et al 1938, 218; Ekwall 1960, 64; Gelling and Cole 2000, 170; Watts 2004, 84; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 154.
S 1293 AD 959 *in loco qui Brikandun vulgare vocitamine dicitur*
S 1487 AD 975x1016 (will of Ælfhelm) *ic gean þæs landes æt Brycandune*
DB *Brichendone, Brichedone*
The first element may be Brit **brig* "summit", but OE phonological developments would produce palatal –c- here, or it may be gen sing of a personal name **Brica*.
Second element OE *dūn*, "hill".
For a full discussion, see Baker (above).

Brickhill, Bucks (Great, Little, Bow) TL 050 520
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 30; Ekwall 1960, 64; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Gelling and Cole 2000, 152, 193; Watts 2004, 85; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 148.
DB *Brichelle, Brichella*
1198 (*Bole) brichill*
1472 – 8 (*Bowe) brykhyll*
PrW * *brīco*>Britt **brīg,* "a hill", + OE *hyll*, so a tautologous formation.
Bow Brickhill is from OE pers n *Bolla.*

Brill, Bucks SP 650 130
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 118; Ekwall 1960, 65; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Gelling and Cole 2000, 152, 193; Watts 2004, 87; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 148 – 9.
DB *Brunhelle*
(1072) 1225 *Bruhella*
Britt **bre**z,** *brīga*, "a hill" + OE *hyll*
A tautologous formation.

Carkelowe, Herts TL 265 310 (in Weston)
Gover et al 1938, 255; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 150 – 1.
15c *Carkelowe*
Britt **carreg,* a rock + OE *hlaw.*
"A place where there is a mound with rocks".

Chalfont, Bucks TQ 001909
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 218 – 9; Ekwall 1960, 94; Gelling 1977; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 123 – 4; Appendix 1, 379 - 80.
S 151 AD 796 *ofer þæt Þætergefeal þæt on Cealcfuntinga gemærhagan*
OE *cealc* + **funta*
"Chalk spring".

Chertsey, Surrey TQ 045665
Gover et al 1934, 105; Ekwall 1960, 100; Coates and Breeze 2000, 143 – 4; Gelling and Cole 2000, 40; Watts 2004, 130.
S 69 AD 666 x 675 (grant to) *ecclesiæ sancti Petri Certeseye*
S 1165 AD 672 – 4 (13c) *Cirotesige, -ege, -*
British personal name *Ceorot* + OE *–eg, -ieg*

"An area of good land which belongs to *Ceorot*, in a marshy surrounding". Gelling (Gelling and Cole 2000, 38) points out that the element *–eg* was in use in the early place-name giving time, and may be a clue to British survival.

Cheshunt, Herts TL 359022
Gover et al 1938, 220; Ekwall 1960, 100; Gelling 1977;Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 390.
DB *Cestrehunt(e)*
OE *ceaster* + **funta*
"A spring near Roman remains".

Chetwode, Bucks SP 640 290
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 62; Ekwall 1960, 101; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Gelling and Cole 2000, 224, 259; Watts 2004, 131.
S 544 AD 949 (16c) *þa londgemæru ðæs londes æt Cetwuda*
DB *Ceteode*
Pr W **cēd,* "a wood" + OE *wudu,* a tautologous formation.

Chiltern
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 2 et seq; Ekwall 1960, 104; Coates 1983 – 4, 7 – 15; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Gelling and Cole 2000, 288 – 316; Watts 2004, 134; Baker 2006, 150.
S 914 AD 1006, *Hrisebyrgan (*Risborough*) be Cilternesefese margine luci Cilterni*
ASC (E) *sub anno* 1009 *Ða æfter midden wintra hi namon þa ænne upgang ut þurh Ciltern*
Tribal Hidage ?mid 7c *Cilternsætna,* "the dwellers in the Chilterns".
ciltā*, "a steep slope" + *-****erno* suffix, "the district where there are steep slopes".
An ancient name.
For a full discussion of topographical place-names in the Chilterns, see the entry in Gelling and Cole given here.

Colne, river-name.
Ekwall 1928, lvi, 87; Gover et al 1938, 2; Gover et al 1942, 2; Coates and Breeze 2000, 365; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
S 124 AD785 *Ærest upp of colnea*
An ancient river name.

Cricklewood, Essex TQ 450 840 (in Barking)
Reaney 1935, 605; Baker 2006, 141, 142 – 3.
1291 *Crikelwode, -y-*
1546 *Chekelwode*
1564 *Crykellwood*
**crūc* + OE *hyll* + OE *wudu*
"A barrow on a hill in a wood".

Datchet, Bucks SU 990 774
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 234; Ekwall 1960, 139; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Gelling and Cole 2000, 224; Watts 2004, 180; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 154, 157.
S 1454 AD 990 *æt Bradan forda ongean þæt land æt Deccet*
DB *Daceta*
Second element PrW **cēd,* "a wood", but the first element has not yet been accounted for, listed as unknown by Watts.

Karkelawe, Herts TL 325340 (in Sandon)
Gover et al 1938, 255; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 150
T Hy 3 *Karkelawe*
**carreg* + *hlaw*, "a mound where there are rocks".

Kempston, Beds YL 030480
Mawer and Stenton 1926, 75; Ekwall 1960, 271; Coates and Breeze 2000, 277; Watts 2004, 339.
S 1030 AD 1060 (14c) *Kemestan*
14c *Cæmbestun*
**cameis* + OE *tūn*
"a farmstead near a bend".
The town is situated on a bend in the River Ouse.

Lea, river-name.
Ekwall 1928, lvi, 239 – 41; Gover et al 1938, 3; Gover et al 1942, 4; Ekwall 1960, 291; Coates and Breeze 2000, 362; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
ASC (A) *sub anno* 913 *Lygean* (see entry under Beane)
A Brittonic name found also in Essex.
OIr *lug*, Gallic *Lugu-*
Possibly "bright" ("a shining river"), or a dedication to a god called Lugus.

London, Middx TQ 325805 (Southwark Bridge, first Roman crossing of the Thames)
Ekwall 1960, 303; Rivet and Smith 1979, 396 – 8; Coates and Breeze 2000, 15 – 31, 267; Baker 2006, 139, 151 – 3.
A pre-English form something like **Plowonidā* is suggested, signifying "a river which floods and cannot be crossed by ford, therefore needs a boat to get across". An estuary may have a name which is different from that of the river, here the Thames (Coates in Coates and Breeze as given in this entry).

Mimram, river-name.
Ekwall 1928, lvi, 291 – 2; Gover et al 1938, 3 – 4; Ekwall 1960, 327; Coates and Breeze 2000, 267; Baker 2006, 158 – 9, 161.
ASC (A) *sub anno* 913 *Memeran* (see entry under Beane)
An ancient name.

Panshill (Farm), Bucks SP 610140 (in Boarstall)
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 117i; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 149, 155.

1230 *Paneshale*
13c *Pauncehele, Pauncehaye, Paunshale*
**penn* + **cēd* +OE *halh*
"an important nook in a wood".

Penn, Bucks SU 920930
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 229 – 30; Ekwall 1960, 362; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Gelling and Cole 2000, 211; Watts 2004, 466; Baker 2006, 142 – 3, 150.
1188 *Penna de Tapeslawa*
**penn*
Gelling suggests the element here indicates a ridge.

Tempsford, Beds TL 160530
Mawer and Stenton 1926, 110; Ekwall 1960, 463; Coates and Breeze 2000, 277; Gelling and Cole 2000, 76; Watts 2004, 604.
ASC (A) *sub anno* 921 (917) 7 *foron to Tæmeseforda*
ASC (E) *sub anno* 1010 *Temesanford*
DB *Tamiseforde*
Mawer and Stenton refer to the *Historia Eliensis*, which states that Earl Toli was killed *apud Tamensem flumen*, and this accords with the ASC version E, as given here for the year 1010, describing widespread warfare and stating that the army came to Tempsford.
The ford is at the confluence of the Ivel and the Great Ouse, so one of these, or a nearby stream, could have been called Thames at this time, but evidence suggests it was the Great Ouse (Baker pers com 11.11.10). It is possible that the ford is named as being on the road to the Thames, which, however, is at a distance of 50 miles from here).

Verlamacæstir, Herts TL 132073 (St Albans)
Gover et al 1938, 86 – 7; Ekwall 1960, 399; Rivet and Smith 1979, 497 – 9; Watts 2004, 641 – 2; Coates 2005c; Baker 2006, 142 – 3 et passim; Williams 2007; Appendix 1, 384.
HE 1,7, AD 731 *iuxta civitatem Verolamium, quæ nunc a gente Anglorum Uerlamacæstir sive Uæclingacæstir appellatur*
KCD 672 13c *Verulamium quod nos vulgariter dicimus Wætlingacæster* (see Gover et al 1938).
DB *Villa Sancti Albani*
There is no current consensus on the origin of the accepted Latin name, *Verulamium*, which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. An hypothetical pre-Latin form *Verlamion* has been posited, made by adding –n to a form *Verlamio* found on coins minted prior to AD 43, but this form may in fact be a Latin-type ablative used as a locative by local coin-producers who knew Latin morphology (Williams 2007). Classical Latin had no usual consonant sequence */-rl-/, so spellings with a vowel inserted into this consonant sequence may be adaptations to Latin phonology, and the tonic stress may have been on the penultimate syllable (Coates 2005c). The Anglo-Saxons added *ceaster* as Roman remains would have been visible. Bede's alternative refers to the local Germanic folk the *Wæclingas*, whose name is preserved in the name of Watling Street. It appears from

Bede's note that the Latin name was not only still known but also still used in his day. Eventually, of course, both Bede's names were superseded by the dedication to St Alban.
Gover et al give a thorough, potted history of the site and its name.

Walbrook, London TQ 310820
Ekwall 1928, 430; Gover et al 1942, 7; Ekwall 1960, 491;Gelling and Cole 2000, 8; Mills 2004, 237; Baker 2006, 166 – 7, 168, 182.
1114 *Walebroc*
OE *wealh* + OE *broc*
"The brook in the territory of the Britons".
A derivation from OE *weall,* "a wall", is discounted as no forms with medial –ll- are known.
This name would have been given by people speaking Old English, thus indicating the presence of both British and English folk.

Walemerse, London TQ 370815
Ekwall 1960, 491.
1212 *Walemerse*
walh + OE mersc, "marsh".
"The marshy place where Britons live".
This name occurs in Stepney, where there would have been marshy land at the mouth of the Lea.

Wallbrooks, Herts SU 890930
Gover et al 1938, 292; Baker 2006, 166 – 7, 168, 181.
1277 *Walebroc, Walebrocesfeld*
"The brook where British people live".
Despite the modern spelling which appears to indicate the element *wall*, this record indicates that this name should be included here.

Wealagate, Surrey TQ 040670
Gover et al 1934, 106
S 1165 AD 672 x 4 bounds of land at Chertsey
"The gate or gap of the British".

Wealas huþe, Surrey TQ 055665
Gover et al 1934, 106; Cameron 1979 – 80.
S 1165 AD 672 x 4 bounds of land at Chertsey
Some forms suggest *weales,* gen sing, which would signify either "a Briton" or "a man called *Walh"*. The form here is difficult to justify syntactically.
"The landing-stage ?of the British, or a Briton", probably on the Thames.

Walworth, London, TQ 325780
Mills 2004, 239.
DB *Waleorde*
1196 *Wallewurth*
walh + OE *worþ*
"The enclosed site of the Britons".

Walworth lies to the south (right bank) of the Thames.

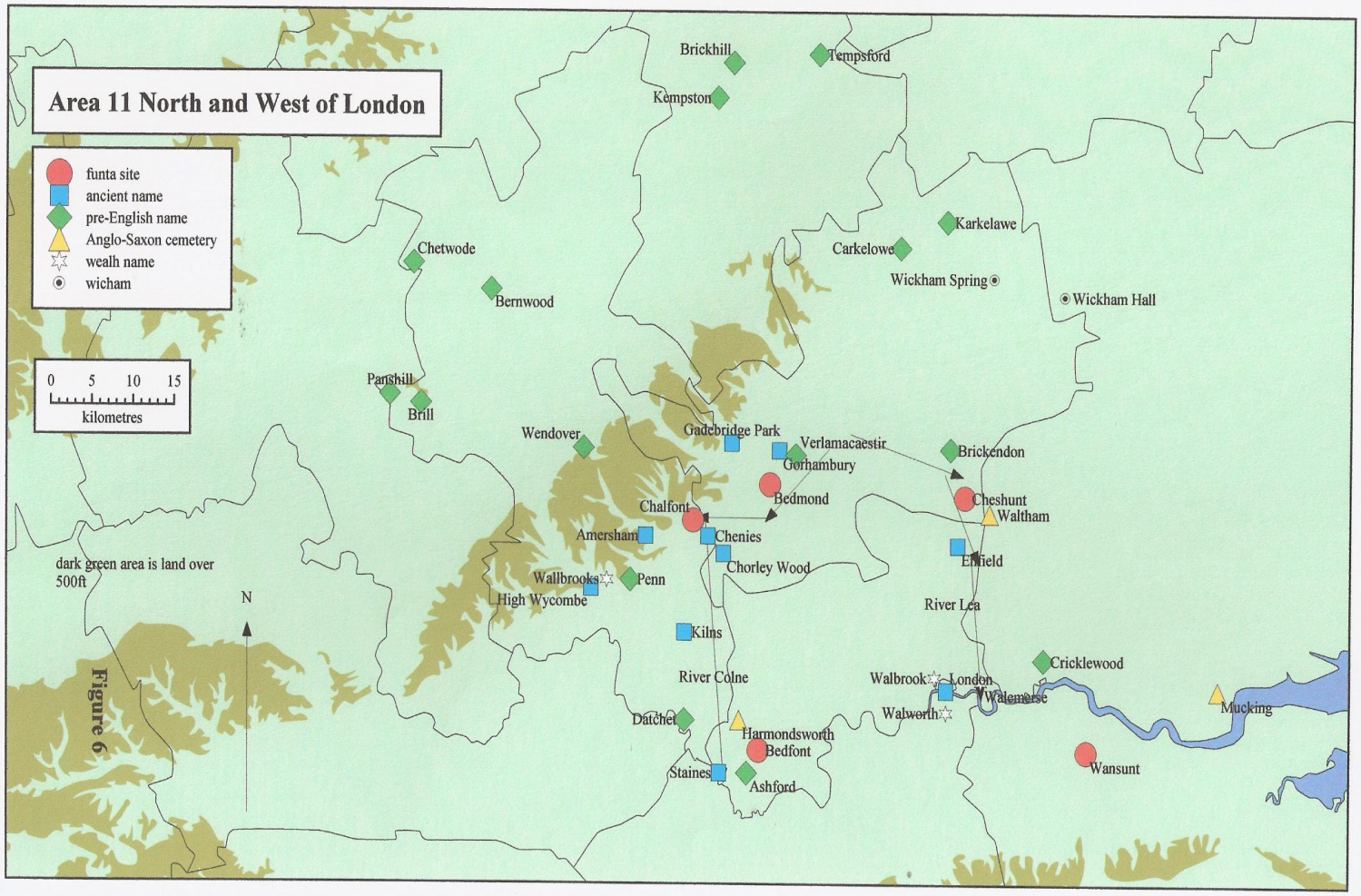
Wendover, Bucks SP 860080
Mawer and Stenton 1925, 157; Ekwall 1928, 448; Ekwall 1960, 506; Gelling and Cole 2000, 299, 302; Watts 2004, 662; Baker 2006, 140, 158 – 9.
S 1485 AD 968 x 971 *æt Wændofran*
DB *Wandovre, Wendovre*
**wïnn +* duβr*
"white or bright, fair , blessed + water".
Originally the name of a clear stream.

Wickham Hall, Herts TL 475255 (in Bishops Stortford)
Gover et al 1938, 203; Gelling 1978, 72; Ekwall 1960, 516; Baker 2006, 170 – 1, 176.
DB *Wicheham*
wīchām qv.
A place where Roman remains were visible. It is near Braughing, an important place in Roman times. It now sits astride the county boundary and is included here despite Gelling's concerns (see Gelling 1967).

Wickham Spring, Herts TL 385275 (in Standon)
Gover et al 1938, 74; Gelling 1978, 74; Baker 2006, 170 – 1, 175.
1626 *Wicombs*
Perhaps from the dative pl of *wīc, wiccums,* cf Wicken (Bonhunt) and cf Funthams, from the dative pl of **funta.*
The spring is situated at the junction of three parishes, beside the road to Braughing, near the site of a Roman settlement and industrial complex.

Discussion.

The positions of the four **funta* sites considered here were originally noticed by Dr Gelling (1977, 9 – 10), who calls their siting a "striking feature", but makes no attempt here to discuss or analyse reasons for the relationship of the sites to each other or to London. She includes Wansunt, Kent (this chapter, Area 6; Appendix 1, 325 - 332) in this arrangement around London, and indeed when the sites are set out on a map, Wansunt certainly appears to be one of the group. However, it will not be considered here as part of the group, as the details of the history, archaeology and geology of its local area are quite different from those of the sites to the north and west of London. Only its position relative to Roman Londinium suggests its inclusion, and because of this reference will be made to Wansunt where appropriate. Dr Gelling also tentatively mentions Tolleshunt, Essex (this chapter, Area 7; Appendix 1, 333 - 9), but no reasons have emerged for including it with the London sites. The grouping is again referred to by Gelling, (1988, 84), and again it is called a "striking feature", but yet again no reason for the relative location of the sites is put forward.


Area 11 North and West of London
funta site
ancient name
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon cemetery
wealh name
wicham
0 5 10 15
kilometres
dark green area is land over 500ft
N
Brickhill
Tempsford
Kempston
Karkelawe
Carkelowe
Chetwode
Wickham Spring
Wickham Hall
Bernwood
Parishill
Brill
Wendover
Gadebridge Park
Verlamacaestir
Gorhambury
Brickendon
Bedmond
Cheshunt
Waltham
Chalfont
Amersham
Chenies
Enfield
Chorley Wood
Wallbrooks
Penn
High Wycombe
River Lea
Kilns
Cricklewood
River Colne
Walbrook
London
Walworth
Walemerse
Mucking
Datchet
Harmondsworth
Bedfont
Wansunt
Staines
Ashford
Figure 6

The sites Bedfont, Chalfont, Bedmond and Cheshunt surround that part of modern Greater London which lies to the north of the Thames, between Staines to the west and the Blackwall Tunnel and the mouth of the Lea to the east. They also take in an area beyond the Greater London boundary, a tract of some 15 km to the north of Borehamwood and Northwood, into Hertfordshire as far as St Albans. It has been suggested that this area was under Imperial control during the time of Roman authority, too large to be the *territorium* of London, but useful for the construction and maintenance of the city (Perring 1991, 42, 48, 51, 120). The area also corresponds largely with the suggested bounds of the later Middle Saxon province, which can be established using charter evidence (Fig 9), apart from the extension north beyond Enfield and the St Albans area. The first mention of the Middle Saxons is in S65 AD 704

in provincia quae nuncupatur Middelseaxan …

In this discussion the significance of the relative location of the sites to each other, and to London and the Thames, will be examined from various viewpoints. First, the geology and topology, already noted in the gazetteer, will be reviewed in some detail, with an overview of land-use in Roman and early Anglo-Saxon times. Evidence of settlement will be examined, with any indication of the continuation of population after the withdrawal of Roman authority. Consideration will be given to the possible power-bases in sub- and post-Roman times, and the advent to the region of Germanic culture, if not of people of Germanic blood. Germane to this last point are the location and suggested dating of the two series of Grim's Ditches, with their geographical, and possibly temporal, relationship to the **funta* sites. The possibility of a fifth **funta* site to the east of London will be examined, and finally each of the four **funta* sites will be examined in more detail, with especial reference to the advent of Germanic people or culture. The reason for a site to be named as a **funta* in the local area in the fifth century will be examined, since the term must have been adopted from the indigenous population by the newcomers.

Geology and topography.

Three of the four sites are located where the soil was, in Roman times, capable of agricultural production; Chalfont, however, is in an area of clay-with-flints and at that time covered by woodland, not suitable for growing crops but suitable for pottery production, with numerous kilns located nearby, and quite near the right bank of the Colne which would offer water transport (Appendix 1, 380). Bedfont is on sand and gravel, near the fertile alluvium of the Ash and the lower Colne valleys, where there is abundant evidence of human activity from prehistoric times, and where Romano-British farmsteads were numerous. Close by were the

Roman road to *Calleva*, the Thames and the settlement at *Pontibus* (Staines). This was a busy area in Roman times and is the site of the largest known early Anglo-Saxon settlement along the Thames west of London (ibid, 379 - 8). Bedmond lies in an area of boulder clay and sand and gravel, an area of conspicuous activity in Roman times, with many villas and farmsteads, close to the rich and prestigious town of *Verulamium* and close to the main road from *Verulamium* to *Pontibus* (ibid, 385 - 7). Cheshunt is just north of Enfield, again on an area of sand and gravel where cultivation was possible and activity is known to date from the early Roman period. Cheshunt is close to the right bank of the Lea, and lies beside Ermine Street, the road from London to Lincoln and the north (ibid, 392 - 4). Thus all four **funta* sites are located where there is known to have been activity in the Roman period.

On the London side of the ring of sites, the north-west part of the London basin, the solid and drift geology influenced early settlement of the area. For the most part the surface of the area is covered by heavy London clay, with here and there patches of other clays, and with narrow bands of alluvium in the valleys of the tributary rivers and of the Thames itself. There are wider bands of alluvium in the valleys of the Colne and the Lea, and on the lower Colne and around the Ash an alluvial area of irregular shape, some 10km in extent at its widest and longest. The modern Isle of Dogs at the mouth of the Lea, and an area at the mouth of the Tyburn, are also of alluvium. Apart from this, the clay is overlain here and there by very small patches of sand and gravel, some much less than 1km² in area, with a more extensive tract of sand and gravel in the south-west of the area towards Staines. In the LPRIA and in subsequent centuries, the sand and gravel areas would offer soils which were easier to cultivate, some of which were capped by well-drained layers, such as the brickearth at Enfield and Heston (by the modern M4), capable of supporting cereal production or market gardening as required. The large expanse of London clay would readily support only woodland, known to have been elm and oak in the medieval period (Brigham 2000, 17). The alluvial areas of the valleys of the lower Lea and Tyburn would have been marshy, flooded regularly in the Roman and Late Anglo-Saxon periods due to the changing waterlevels in the Thames, though the rise and fall of the levels during the first millennium AD has proved to be a complex question (ibid 18 – 19).

Settlement and power-bases.

It is obvious that only certain parts of the area would have attracted early settlers, and though the technology in Roman times may have enabled some cultivation of the heavy London clay, there is no evidence of widespread development in this period. It must be borne in mind that most of the area is at present covered by building or other features of modern human presence, but common sense suggests that odd pieces of evidence, such as isolated artefact finds, would have emerged. The extensive cultivated area east of Staines and under Heathrow airport, on gravel and alluvium, is well-known and dates from prehistoric times (Appendix 1, 374 - 7). In the Roman period the area was crossed by roads leading from Londinium, probably at the Marble Arch junction, east to *Camulodunum*

(Colchester), north along Ermine Street, north-west along Watling Street and west to *Calleva* (Silchester). Roadside settlements are known, continuing through periods of decline and revival to the late Roman period (ibid, 363 - 4). However, apart from these settlements, and along the Thames in London, very little evidence has come to light of any other sort of settlement activity throughout the area during the time of the Roman occupation. No villas or villa-type estates are known, which may add weight to the theory of direct state control, though hypocaust tiles and bricks in the fabric of old St Andrew's church, Kingsbury, testify to the presence of a dwelling close to the settlement at Brockley Hill (VCH Mddx v, 1976, 49 – 55). Slaughter sites are known at Old Ford and Staines, suggesting that animals were transported on the hoof in preparation for the London market (Brigham 2000, 142; Appendix 1, 376). A great deal of timber was needed for the quays along the Thames waterfront, and evidence from the buildings in the city of London shows that the timber used in their construction was from managed woodlands. This suggests that the woodlands of the clay area to the north of London, though not readily usable for settlement or agriculture, were exploited by coppicing, to produce timber suitable for construction, and for charcoal burning to produce fuel for the kilns at Brockley Hill and Highgate and the various local industries closer to the city (Brigham 2000, 152). Market gardens and small industries around the perimeter of the city would have served the needs of its population (Merrifield 1983, 134; Brigham 2000, 153), but the low density of occupation in the hinterland of London is, of itself, an area of interest.

If there is little evidence of occupation in the hinterland in Roman times, there is even less for the early Anglo-Saxon period. Along the Thames itself there is evidence for settlement at this time in Westminster, further west at Fulham and Brentford, and still further west at Harmondsworth (Appendix 1, 366 - 8). To the north of the Thames are the cemetery sites at Hanwell and Shepperton (ibid, 368), and though these are recorded (Meaney 1964, 167 – 8), the excavations took place between 1750 and 1910 and most of the artefacts are no longer available, so the dating is problematic, though the three gilt-bronze saucer brooches from Hanwell appear to be of probable late fifth to sixth century date. No written historical evidence is available to support the archaeological evidence.

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However, it has been suggested that in the hinterland a sub-Roman population continued (Cowie 2000, 179). The supposed small Christian group in the Heathrow area appears not to have continued (Appendix 1, 376), and Roman Christianity appears to have lapsed, or at least severely declined, within London itself, since the church here had to be re-established by the Augustinian mission in AD 604, for the pagan East Saxons who now controlled London (ASC E version *sub anno* 604; HE II, 3). Outside the walled area of old Londinium a shrine dating from Roman times, on the site of the present St Martin-in-the-Fields, appears to have continued in importance. This site has a commanding view up and down the Thames. A late fifth-century jar was found here, but so far no evidence of an early Saxon church, though the site may have continued to have a

religious connotation with implications for the later development of Westminster (Telfer 2010).

Constantius's *Vita Sancti Germani* describes the journey of St Germanus to Verulamium in AD 429, though the second journey is almost certainly a fantasy (Barrett 2009). This indicates that Roman Christianity continued at the new shrine of St Alban, near Verulamium, and that there were sufficient numbers of actual or potential heretics here to warrant such a journey. The heresy was at odds with the orthodox Roman doctrine of Divine Grace in its heretical teaching that man can use free will, which is itself God-given, to take the initial steps towards salvation. It is obvious that in such matters this area of Britain was in contact with the near Continent, as the heretical belief was also present, though in a less extreme form, in Gaul (Livingstone1977, 390). The fact of the existence of a Christian community at and around St Albans also demonstrates a continuing British population (Thomas 1981, esp. 347; Merrifield 1983, 263 – 4 et passim).

Archaeology suggests that there may have been a British enclave encompassing not only Verulamium, but also the Chilterns to the north-west and extending to Hitchin and Baldock to the north-north-east. The first signs of Germanic culture at Verulamium date to the eighth century (Niblett 2001a, 146). The Latin name of *Verulamium* was still known in Bede's time, with an alternative Old English name (Appendix 1, 388) again indicating a continuing local population, as well as the presence of people who were coining names in Old English, probably here the *Wæclingas*. The name of London would have continued by virtue of the fact that it continued as a trading centre (Bede HE ii, 3) and through the centuries the name had different additions and variations, from the *Londinium* of Tacitus to the *Londinia* or *Lundinia* of 1086 (Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 15 – 31). Between London and the ring of **funta* sites no pre-English names are known, but to the north and west of the ring scattered names appear (Fig 6) but even then in no great density. It should be noted that as well as the evidence for a British population near St Albans, just north of Cheshunt is Brickendon, near Bedfont are Ashford and Datchet, but as yet no pre-English name is known near to Chalfont, only the *wīchām* at Wycombe. These areas are discussed below.

There is evidence for a British presence near the Thames in London by the time names were being given by English speakers, who found it appropriate to name places where the indigenous folk still lived. Such speakers of Old English would have been more prestigious, and maybe more numerous, than the indigenous British, since names including the OE element *walh* show a British enclave of some sort, and the British would not have found it necessary to name themselves. Walbrook, Walworth and *Walemerse* (see name list) are testimony to the situation.

Thus there is evidence of a British presence beyond the ring of **funta* sites and on the Thames, but little evidence of either British or early Anglo-Saxon presence between the two. The British would in any case have been largely archaeologically invisible. There remains the question of the significance of the **funta* sites and what they betokened.

Grim's Ditches:

The earthworks known as the Grim's Ditches may be significant. There are two sequences of ditches which have been examined, one in Middlesex and another in the Chilterns (Hughes 1931; Crawford 1931; Wheeler 1934; Castle 1975; Ellis 1982). Both series were constructed by people living outside whatever constituted the London area at the time of construction, as the ditches are in both cases facing toward London, and the evidence suggests that both were political boundary markers rather than military frontiers, put in place at different times. A short stretch on the right bank of the Thames near Goring, which faces in the other direction, is not considered here, as it appears to belong to a different situation. Here the Middlesex ditches will be considered as the Chiltern ditches appear to be later in date (below). Excavation has demonstrated that the Middlesex series between Pinner and Harrow was the earlier in date, with an apparent easterly extension at Pear Wood near Brockley Hill being added later. Iron Age and Belgic material in the fill is deemed to be residual, and the excavators conclude that this series is of late or post-Roman date, possibly fifth- or sixth-century (Castle 1975). No archaeological evidence has yet come to light of any early Anglo-Saxon presence in this local area, and in the St Alban's district Germanic evidence is not known prior to the eighth century, so according to this evidence a ditch of such date might have been a boundary between two British polities, both of some vigour at this time (ibid 275).

The Chiltern series of ditches appears to have been constructed later than the Middlesex ditches, and the investigators venture to link the construction with the Anglo-Saxon military conquest in the later sixth century, under Cuthwulf, when a battle at *Bedcanford* is listed *sub anno* 571 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, with subsequent settlement by the Saxons (Hughes 1931). This may or may not have been the case. Even if the battle is correctly dated, its significance is uncertain. The dating of the two series of ditches may indicate a shift of border as political control varied between different groups of people, whether indigenous or immigrant (Merrifield 1983, 260 – 3; Vince 1990, 51 – 4). The use of the name of Grim in this way is dubious as a dating indicator, as names may change through time, and Woden and Wayland were often invoked as well as Grim. Such mythical associations are hard to date, and pre-ninth century earthworks may have been given the name of the constructor, for example Offa in Offa's Dyke (Yorke pers com). However, it is revealing that part of the Chiltern ditch series on the border between Great Missenden and Wendover is called *Fastingditch* in the bounds of a grant of land in the Missenden cartulary

Incipiendo apud Fastyngdich ubi furce sunt …

(see Hughes 1931, 294 – 6). The term *fæsten + dīc* also appears in a charter relating to land at Bexley, Kent (S 175), and the earthwork is now in Joyden's Wood near Wansunt (Appendix 1, 330). The term is also found in a charter relating to Crondall, Hants (S 820), and these two instances indicate a political or administrative boundary, rather than a construction with a defensive or military purpose (Baker 2008).

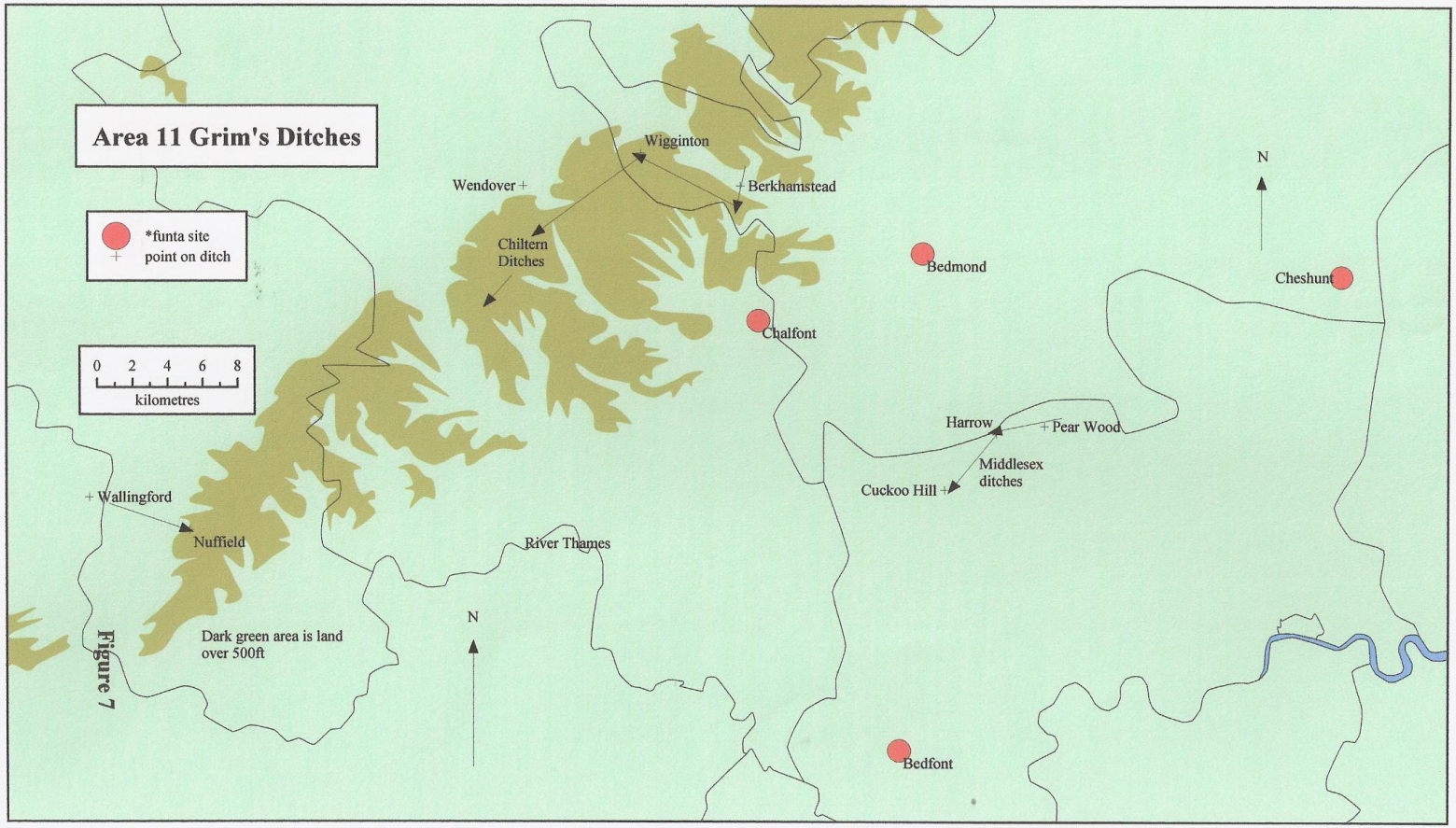
Area 11 Grim's Ditches
*funta site
point on ditch
0 2 4 6 8
kilometres
Wigginton
Wendover
Berkhamstead
Chiltern
Ditches
Bedmond
Chalfont
Cheshunt
N
Harrow
Pear Wood
Middlesex
ditches
Cuckoo Hill
Wallingford
Nuffield
River Thames
N
Dark green area is land
over 500ft
Bedfont

Figure 7

Thus it appears that the Middlesex ditch series may have denoted a boundary between two British polities, established after the withdrawal of Roman authority in the fifth century, whereas the Chiltern series denoted the eastern edge of a group of people of Germanic culture. The **funta* sites of Bedmond and Chalfont lie between. The context of both these series of ditches seems hard to establish definitively, but the border nature of the area in the fifth and sixth centuries may be asserted. There is no evidence for any strong indigenous power in the kingdom of the Middle Saxons (Bailey 1989, 110). The claylands of the north-west London basin appear to have been unused (ibid 112) with a political vacuum around London in the fifth and sixth centuries, the date attributed to the Middlesex ditches and the date when it is believed that the term **funta* came into use (Jackson 1953, 680). It is suggested that the area was inhabited by small groups of people, isolated from each other by tracts of woodland. Gradually the charter evidence reveals the names of some of the groups, which often had the usual *-ingas* ending, and many of which survive in place-names, such as the *Brahhingas* (Braughing) and the *Gillingas* (Ealing). It was perhaps because of the localised nature of the groups that no significant leader emerged, and the territory was absorbed by the East Saxons towards the end of the sixth century (Bailey 1989 passim).

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Old Ford.

On the map, the ring of sites around London appears to lack a **funta* between Cheshunt and the lower Lea as a demarcation point. It is here suggested either that one may have existed, which was later redundant or lost, or that there was no need for a demarcation here, if there were no indigenous power-base in this locality. This latter assumption is based on the knowledge that by the beginning of the seventh century London was controlled by the East Saxons and seen as a part of East Saxon territory, under the overlordship of Kent, so there was at that date no boundary and no need for a boundary marker, or perhaps there were no British-speaking folk left here. The see of London was established in the early seventh century for the East Saxons. Since the use of the OE element **funta* is thought to date from the mid- to late sixth century it would have been inappropriate at or after that time as a boundary marker. However, if a boundary had existed previously, it may have been near or at Old Ford on the lower Lea, a roadside settlement in Roman times and the easiest crossing point of the river (Brown 2008). **funta* names are often near Roman sites, and just as other **funta* names often have other pre-English names nearby, so there is Cricklewood in Barking, and the lost *Walemerse* in Stepney. Stratford (1067 *Strætforda,* c1075 *Stratforde*, Mills 2004, 219) is to the east of the crossing at Old Ford of the road to *Camulodunum* (Colchester). The local area is now covered by buildings, roads, railways etc, and to the east the motor vehicle works at Dagenham, so that only a most diligent search of records of the area may, or may not, support the use of the element **funta* in this neighbourhood. If there were one at one time, its significance would have been redundant when the East Saxons ruled London, and so unnecessary, although the name could have lived on.

Individual sites.

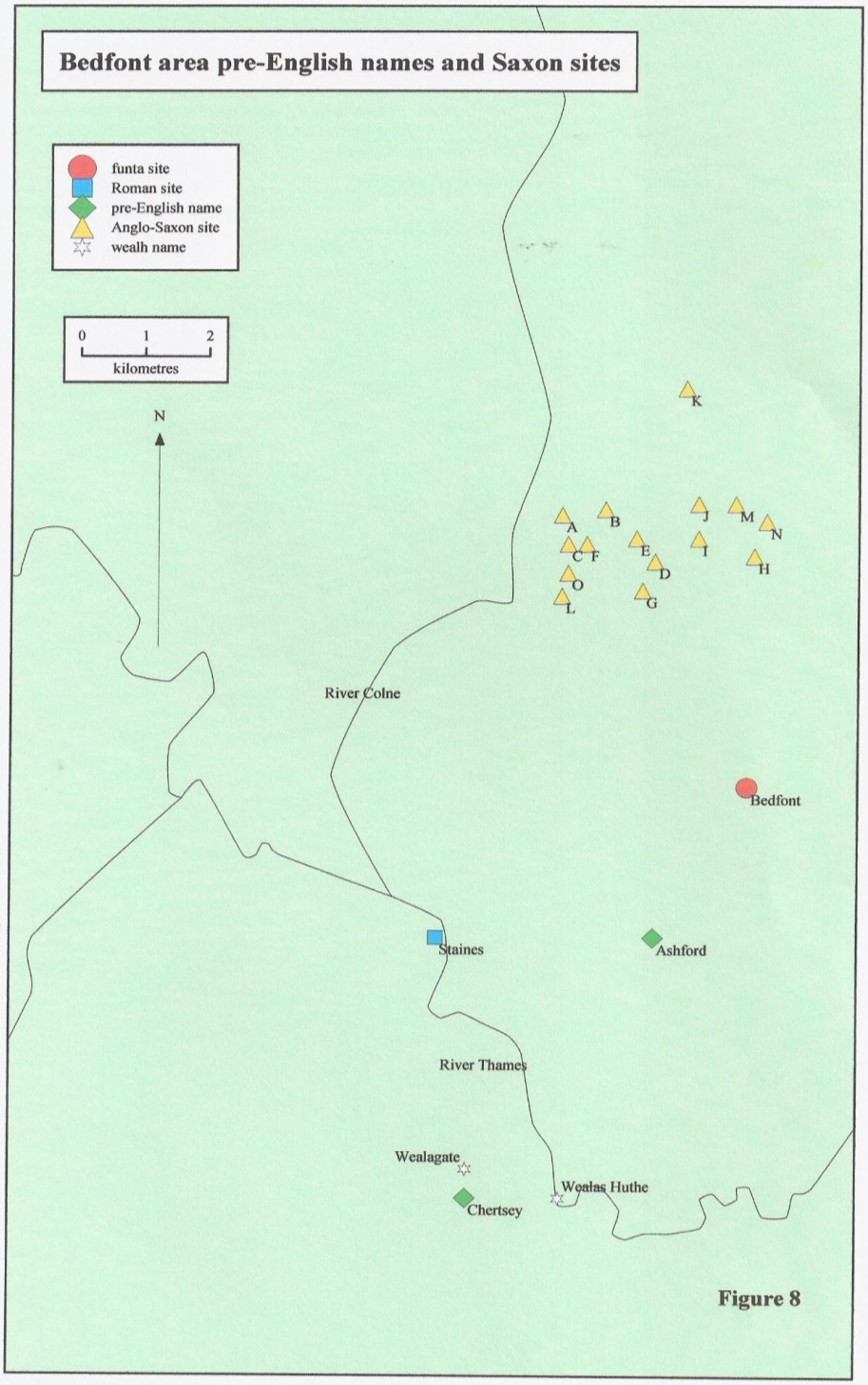
Each site is now considered in its more immediate locality, rather than in its relationship to London.

Bedfont (Appendix 1, 372 - 8)

The area around Bedfont had been a favoured area for activity and settlement since prehistoric times, and through the Roman period was busy with agricultural production and trade passing through *Pontibus* (Staines) along the road from *Londinium* to *Calleva* (Silchester) (Appendix 1, 374 - 6). The soils north of the Thames here are gravels and brickearths, the terrain flat and watered by the Colne and the Crane, and so might have presented to immigrant farmers an attractive place in which to settle, having had access up the Thames. A large number of sites to the north of Bedfont have been found with evidence of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, beginning in the later fifth century. Sporadic early settlement is known along the Thames to the west of London, at Hammersmith, Mortlake, Brentford, Ham and Kingston (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 36 – 61), but the most extensive area of early Anglo-Saxon settlement along this part of the Thames is here, just to the north of Bedfont.

All sites which have revealed any evidence are plotted on the map, but some are more important than others. The first settlement appears to have been at Prospect Park (A), where the extent of the known settlement area is some 100ha, with eleven sunken-featured buildings, two post-built huts and pits. The forms and fabric of the pottery suggest a date from the fifth century into the sixth, offering a link with the settlement at Hammersmith (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 62 – 6, 76). Early settlement is also indicated at Manor Farm (C), with two sunken-featured buildings, pits and some pottery showing fifth-century forms such as carinated rims, but there seems to be little connection between these two early sites which lie some 500m apart (ibid 70 – 7). The other sites which have been excavated appear to be later, probably offshoots of the early sites. It appears that the settlement began on the terrace overlooking the Colne, gradually spreading, but not actually moving, to the east, and that there may also have been a spread to the north, but still with the main settlement remaining near the river. It was not a wandering settlement like that at Mucking, Essex, but rather more fixed with outlying subsidiary parts (ibid 88 – 9). Such a large area, covering some 600ha in all, with fifth-century artefacts, would indicate an immigrant Germanic group, rather than a culture change on the part of the indigenous population.

However, a continuation of British population is also indicated, to the south of Bedfont. Two kilometres to the south is Ashford, which, though its name appears to be typically Old English, is shown by early forms to be partly Brittonic, as its first element derives from a British personal name **Eccel*, in its first recorded form *Eclesbroc* in AD 962 (see list of names at the beginning of this section). Its phonetic form shows that it was borrowed by English speakers not before the late fifth century, when such speakers would have been unlikely to use a British personal name for themselves. It is believed therefore to indicate that this was British territory under the


Bedfont area pre-English names and Saxon sites
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
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0
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I
H
D
O
G
L
River Colne
Bedfont
Staines
Ashford
River Thames
Wealagate
Wealas Huthe
Chertsey
Figure 8

Key to early Anglo-Saxon sites in the Harmondsworth area (Fig 8).

Map	site name	NGR	Cowie & Blackmore 2008
A	Prospect Park	TQ 055 783	site N
B	M4 widening	TQ 062 784	site O
C	Manor Farm	TQ 056 778	site P
D	Home Farm	TQ 070 775	site Q
E	Holloway Lane	TQ 067 779	site R
F	15 Holloway Lane	TQ 059 778	site S
G	Bath Road (Airport Gate)	TQ 068 770	site T
H	Imperial College E	TQ 086 776	fig 64
I	Imperial College W	TQ 077 779	"
J	Wall Garden Farm	TQ 077 785	"
K	Beaudesert Mews	TQ 075 805	"
L	King's Head	TQ 055 769	"
M	RMC	TQ 083 785	"
N	Hospice	TQ 088 782	"
O	Home Office I C		

leadership of a man with this name and known to the Anglo-Saxons just to the north. Similarly Chertsey, 5km south-west of Ashford, has as its first element the British personal name *Ceorot.* Both these names have the Old English genitive singular *–es* before the Old English generic *–ford* and *–ieg.* The place-names appear to have been coined by Germanic people who recognised the British personal names as important, perhaps of the chief landholders here who continued to hold their own territory. There is also a later indication of a continued British population locally in the names *Wealagate* and *Weales huþe* at Chertsey.

Bedfont lies significantly between the Anglo-Saxon settlement at Harmondsworth and the land which seems to have continued as British, around Ashford and Chertsey, on both sides of the Thames. It may be that passage up the Thames and the Colne had been allowed by the local British inhabitants, and the **funta* site marked the boundary between the two parcels of land. This would also explain why Stanwell, the parish adjoining Bedfont to the west, was a *wiella* and not a **funta*, a puzzle posed by Dr Gelling which has till now found no solution (eg Gelling 1977, 9; Baker 2006, 174).

Chalfont (Appendix 1, 379 - 382)

It is impossible to say where the water is which gave Chalfont its name, and the church at Chalfont St Peter has been selected as an arbitrary point from which to measure distances. Today there is no notable spring which may have been called a **funta*, and the term may have been applied generally to this stretch of the River Misbourne, which flows down through Little Chalfont, Chalfont St Giles and Chalfont St Peter, a distance of some 10km. The river is very small today, but may have been more remarkable 1500 years ago.

The nearest **funta* sites to Chalfont are at Bedmond, some 17km to the north-east, and Bedfont, about 15km to the south. At these sites there are definite points at which a **funta* may be located; at Bedmond there is a choice of two springs, and at Bedfont, where no spring is visible, the church is a central point. The first element of each indicates a particular site, but at Chalfont the first element is of no help, as it designates the chalk subsoil. It is here suggested, tentatively, that the name Chalfont was eventually used to designate a north-south stretch of territory rather than a fixed location, ie the territory of the people who lived in the area of the **funta*. S151 AD 796 includes in its bounds a waterfall which lies on the boundary of the *Cealcfuntinga*, ie the area in which these people lived rather than a place. This territory runs along by the River Colne, which would provide a natural boundary to the east, although information from charters disproves this.

In Roman times the important site of *Verulamium* lay well to the north-east, and roads from here cross the Chalfont area (Appendix 1, 380). There is little evidence of settlement in the Chalfont area at this time, but there were villas to the north, at Sarratt and at Chorley Wood, and the villa at Latimer, just 7km north at Little Chalfont, shows signs of activity into the fifth century, though excavation shows that this occupation was not Romano-British in character, but in a cruck building which suggests re-

occupation of the villa site (Branigan 1973; Baker 2006, 87). In the area surrounding *Verulamium,* some villas which had been prestigious show signs of decline by the end of the Roman era (Neal et al 1990, 95).

There is likewise a lack of known evidence for any early Anglo-Saxon presence. The name Wycombe (High and West) to the west of the Chalfont area may or may not indicate a *wīchām* here (Watts 2004, 706, but see Gelling 1978, 67). Some doubt has been cast on the location of the 30 hides at *Wichama* which were exchanged in AD 764 for 30 hides in Middlesex (S 106, Christ Church Canterbury archive), but most authorities agree that the grant refers to High Wycombe, Bucks. If the name does indeed derive from *wīchām,* there may still have been a site of some British authority when the Germanic folk arrived in the area (Gelling 1977; Baker 2006, 172), though this is not confirmed. To the west of the Chalfont area there may have been an area of continuing British authority in the fifth or sixth century, becoming absorbed into Anglo-Saxon overlordship at some time before the late eighth century, when it was ruled by Mercia.

By the early seventh century, the land opposite Chalfont beyond the Colne was held by the East Saxons , then in the late eighth century by Mercia. A strip of land between Chalfont and the right bank of the Colne at Pinesfield was granted in AD 796 by Ecgbert of Mercia to the abbey of St Albans (S 151). Chalfont then lay between two parcels of land, each under Mercian control, and had probably been assimilated into the estate of Wycombe, as the bounds of S 151 particularly mention the boundary of Pinesfield with the people of Chalfont.

It would appear that in the immediate post-Roman era Chalfont was lying between British territory to the west, where the early Anglo-Saxons saw a *wīchām,* and the territory along the Colne which was soon occupied by newcomers. Some 10km to the south, downstream on the Colne, early settlement has been found at Hayes (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 89). It is here suggested that as the *wīchām* area to the west of Chalfont St Peter was gradually annexed, the significance of any boundary between the two areas became redundant, but the place-name of the people who lived near the chalk spring remained.

The other sites discussed in this section suggest that a **funta* site may have demarcated British from Saxon territories. Here an attempt has been made to find a similar significance for Chalfont.

Bedmond (Appendix 1, 383 – 9).

Bedmond lies to the west of the important Roman site of *Verulamium,* where there is evidence of a British population continuing into the fifth century (Appendix 1, 387), and where the earliest evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence dates to the late seventh century. Bede gives two names for the town, the English *Wæclingacæstir* and the anglicised *Verlamacæstir*, both apparently used in tandem (ibid, 387). Though the town itself appears to have remained as a seat of British authority in post-Roman times, nevertheless Saxon influence was penetrating into the area which, by the early eighth century, was under the control of the East Saxons: in AD 705 the estate of *Hæmele* was granted by Offa, king of Essex, to Wealdhere, bishop of London (S 1784). The see of London had been established in the

early seventh century to serve the East Saxons. *Hæmele* was the forerunner of the large estate of *Hamelamestede* (Hemel Hempstead), held in 1086 by Count Robert of Mortain, half-brother of the Conqueror. The generic *hāmstede* in the place-name indicates in this area a principal settlement, like Wheathampstead or Berkhamstead (Williamson 2000, 125), but evidence of any early Anglo-Saxon presence has not yet been found (NMR). Present-day King's Langley probably formed part of this estate, as it also is listed in 1086 as being held by Count Robert, and was the site of a medieval palace. Abbot's Langley, however, was in 1086 held by the abbey of St Albans, and since both share the name Langley it seems that the one was always held by the king and the other by the abbey. Bedmond today is in the parish of Abbot's Langley, the boundary with Hemel running along the natural boundary of a steep-sided valley, and that with King's Langley running along the River Gade. It appears, then, that even though some parish boundaries were not established here until the early eleventh century, and some have been changed (Hunn 1995a, 48; VCH Herts, 215 – 230), the boundary between the lands of the abbey and those of the Count is still preserved today.

Bedmond may have been a marker of the boundary between the land held by the abbey and the estate taken by, or allowed to, the Saxons, called the *pagus* of *Hæmele.* The modern hamlet is not on the parish boundary, but perhaps significantly lies 4.5km from the walls of *Verulamium*, the usual extent of the *territorium* of a Roman town (Lombard-Jourdain 1972). *Verulamium* was a *municipium*, probably the only one in Roman Britain, and would have had need of local supporting territory, so the distance between the walls and Bedmond may be of interest. No villa has been located between the walls of *Verulamium* and Bedmond (Hunn 1995b).

Cheshunt (Appendix 1, 390 - 5)

Cheshunt lies on Ermine Street between Ware to the north and Enfield to the south. At Ware, Ermine Street crosses the Lea, so would have been important for road and river communications, in Roman times and also in the preceding LPRIA, when it may have served as an entrepôt (Williamson 2000, 41, 53: NMR). Sites at Enfield to the south have provided evidence for activity throughout the Roman period, and this location seems to have been both a focal point for the local economy and some type of station on Ermine Street, possibly a *mansio* (Williamson 2000,16 – 19; gaz 297 – 30).

In the Roman period there may have been a concentration of British population in the area to the west of Cheshunt and Ermine Street, within the curve of the Lea, perhaps owing to the influence of the sites at Enfield and Ware. Hertford is just upstream of Ware, and along this stretch the rivers Beane, Rib and Ash empty from the north into the Lea. At Ware the Lea bends toward the south, so a well-watered corner of land is formed, with crossing-places at Ware and Hertford. A sub-Roman population may have continued in this piece of territory, where there are two more names with pre-English elements, Epcombs, to the west of Hertford (Baker 2006, 177) and Brickendon, the village centre now lying some 7km to the north-west of Cheshunt. A continuation of Romano-British field boundaries may still be observed here (Williamson 2000, 152).

In 1086 an estate of five hides was held here by the canons of the abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham across the Lea in Essex, and it still known as a Liberty, indicating that in late medieval times it was outside the jurisdiction of the local sheriff. These three pre-English name elements, *camp,* the pre-English element **brig* "summit"and **funta,* indicate some continuation of British folk, who may have had some authority here recognised by incoming Germanic people. Evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence is, as is often the case, very sparse. No material evidence from the fifth century has so far been found, though there is evidence of a small domestic settlement at Enfield, some 3.5 km south of Cheshunt, where dating is problematic (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 19), and at Foxholes Farm, 10 km to the north near Hertford, where several sunken-featured buildings are indicated, showing Germanic influence if not an immigrant presence. The excavators suggest that this phase of occupation may have been temporary, and no close dating was attempted (NMR_NATINV-367837).

At Nazeing upstream across the Lea from Cheshunt the site of a church and cemetery has been found, with possibly a nunnery or minster dating to the seventh to ninth centuries, but abandoned by 850 (NMR_NATINV-3672090). A church was founded in the eleventh century at Waltham across the Lea, eventually re-founded as an Augustinian house by Henry II in 1177 (VCH Essex vol 2 166 – 72).

Thus there is no evidence for anything but a transient, vestigial, early Anglo-Saxon presence near Cheshunt south and west of the Lea in this area. It is suggested (Williamson 2000, 73 – 4) that in this part of what became Hertfordshire the territory was divided between local tribal groups, of either immigrant or British descent, centred on places which had been important in Roman times. One of these, Braughing, takes its name from the tribal name of the *Brahhingas,* given as *Breahingas* AD 825 – 8 (Ekwall 1960, 61), whose leader was **Breahha.*

The Lea may have been an early boundary marker for such groups of people.

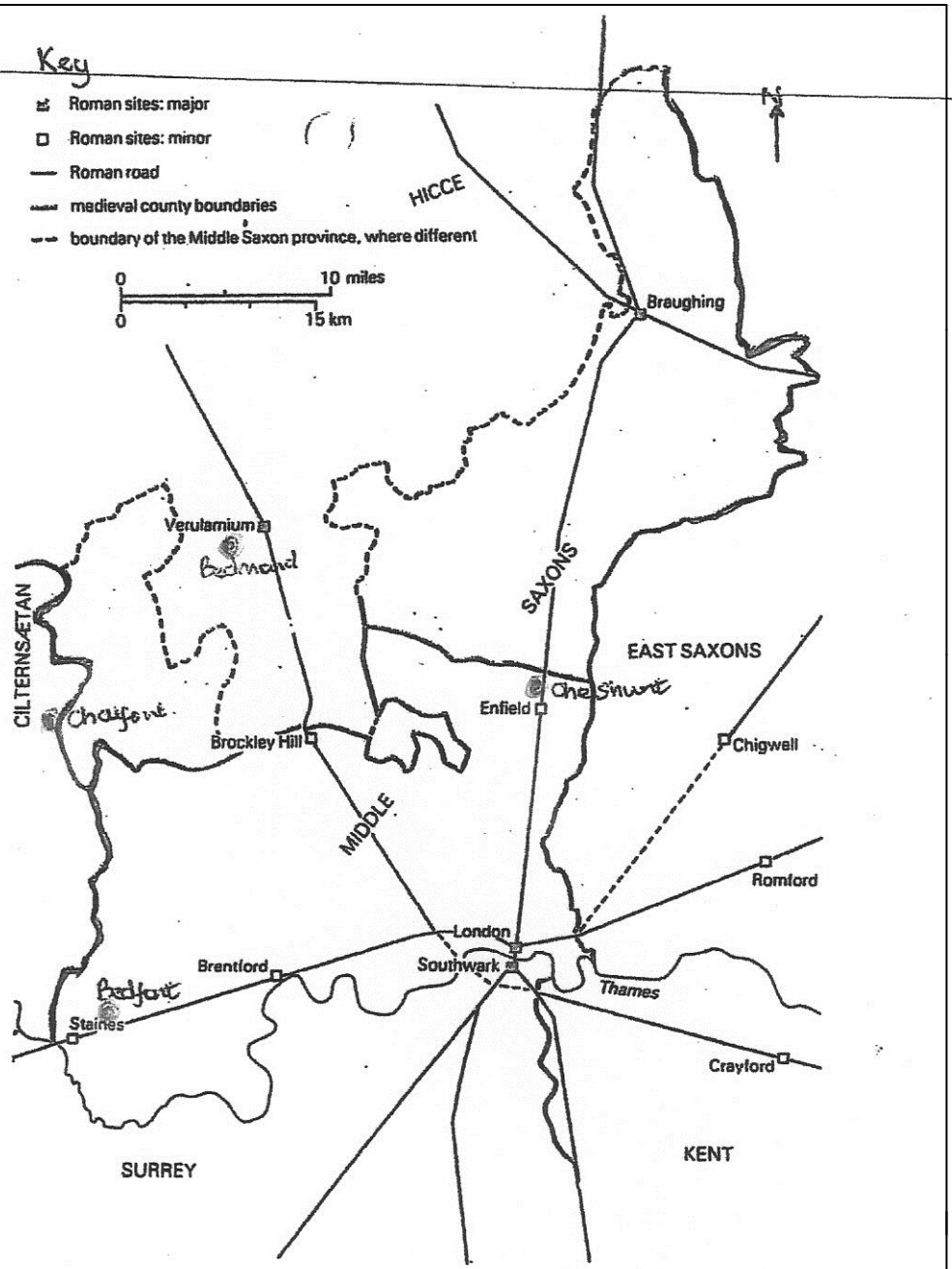


Figure 8.1. **The Middle Saxon province (based on Anglo-Saxon charter evidence and the boundary of the medieval diocese of London, but using modern parish boundaries).**

The suggested bounds of the Middle Saxon province.

Taken from Bailey 1989, Fig 8.1.

Figure 9

Summary of Area 11.

Making sense of the pieces of evidence presented here is like grappling with the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle which at first sight appears easy and straightforward, producing a coherent picture, but which on closer examination fragments into disparate sections which, when put together one by one, produce quite a different picture, so the static puzzle becomes a shifting kaleidoscope. The initial picture here is, to modern eyes, one in which the dominant feature is London, surrounded by a ring of apparently protective **funta* sites. However, in the fifth and sixth centuries the situation was in some ways very different, and changed with the changing situation, as time passed and people and authority came and went, here and elsewhere in the emerging land of England. London, its hinterland and the individual **funta* sites are all pieces which interlock and whose relationships change.

London almost disappears from the historical record after the withdrawal of Roman authority. However, there is evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence along the lower reaches of the Thames, at Mucking for example, and in the Upper Thames valley, for example at Dorchester-on-Thames. There is also evidence of pockets of an early Anglo-Saxon presence along the stretch of the Thames between the modern City and West London (Baker 2006, 127 – 8; Appendix 1, 115 - 6), and in AD 604 London was still important enough to be chosen by the Augustinian mission for the site of the see for the East Saxons. These facts rebut the impression of a totally deserted urban area, for London obviously retained a significance of some sort in the fifth and sixth centuries, as it is believed that St Paul's cathedral still stands on its original site, and evidence is emerging of the continuing importance of the site of St Martin's-in-the-Fields (Welch 2007, 238; Telfer 2010).

The north-west hinterland continues to defy any attempt to find evidence of settlement of any importance, even in the seventh century when it was under the nominal control of the East Saxons. However, the road system established by the Romans was still intact, though perhaps degraded, so the area was not impenetrable, merely unattractive to contemporary habitation and exploitation, though providing a source of timber as required. There appears to have been a heathen temple at Harrow, in the territory of the people of *Guma* (S 106 AD 767 *gumeninga hergæ*, BCS 384 AD 825 *æt hearge*). Bedfont and Cheshunt were well connected to London and the Thames by road and river, Bedmond and Chalfont less so but by no means unreachable, so the individual sites lie apart from London but with access if needed. They were not close enough to London to have a specific relationship with it in this situation. Each was important in its own location, as demonstrated above, but it was the situations in each locality which form a pattern of similarity around the London hinterland, and seem to enclose it, not the proximity to London which is what the modern eye perceives at first sight. This may be the answer to the apparent lack, to modern eyes, of a **funta* near Old Ford: the situation did not demand one just there. Each **funta* site can be shown to be in an area, albeit small, where there may have been a continuity of British population, situated on the edge of the London hinterland where the London clay gives

way to more manageable soil, and perhaps an area of British authority which regulated, allowed or tolerated, or was obliged to tolerate, the new settlement of people who were either of Germanic birth or using Germanic culture. In this way the relationship of each of the sites to London is re-established: the incomers do not appear to have come from London itself, but from outside the area to the north, in the case of Cheshunt and Bedmond, and along the Thames in the case of Bedfont. London was not the target, not even the central point, but just another place where incomers might settle. As always, Chalfont is a difficult site, with no information until the eighth century.

It is not so much the relationship of the sites to each other and to London, but more a question of the relationship of areas of control, authority and settlement, and the gradual change and development in these areas and so of their relationships, until the stark local differences of the fifth century were gradually subsumed in the political struggles of the emerging English kingdoms, and small areas were absorbed by larger emerging polities. In AD 705 (S 1784) the East Saxon kings were in a position to grant land at *Hæmele* to the see of London, but later Mercia became pre-eminent here. Again, Chalfont is the most difficult site to fit into the picture, and the hypothesis (set out above) is based in an attempt to find a similarity with the other sites. The charter of AD 764 (S 106) demonstrates the power of Mercia around Chalfont at this time and the desire of Christ Church Canterbury to consolidate its holdings (Brooks 1984, 141 – 2) and Chalfont is only mentioned in the bounds; likewise the charter of AD 796 (S 151) shows the power of Mercia at this time, in this same region. Such documentary evidence is all we have to shed light on three centuries of shifting power, by which time the significance of the **funta* sites had dwindled to nothing. The earliest and most convincing evidence is from the Bedfont area, due to the extensive archaeological work which has gone on at Harmondsworth and related sites. A clear division between British and early Anglo-Saxon territories may be mapped here in the fifth century, but by AD 672 (S 1165) Mercia held sway here too.

The picture which emerges is as follows. The **funta* sites were not established by some power to form a protective ring around London and its hinterland, as initially appears. They developed locally, in response to local conditions, where there were both British and newcomers who were probably not yet to be called Anglo-Saxons. The four sites just happen to lie in some apparent relationship to each other and to London, because of terrain and access routes, where there were pockets of British occupation in which newcomers wanted to settle. But having been established locally, the **funta* sites and their localities regained a relationship to London as it, in turn, regained its importance, and the kings of Essex, then of Mercia, had the power to grant lands in the periphery of London, which by the seventh century had become more sought after as technology and needs altered, and trade was booming.

Thus the picture shifts and changes through the centuries, with the importance of London waning and then waxing, and power and authority varying. The **funta* sites which had been significant points in local politics became redundant as politics on a larger scale took over. Boundaries and

local power bases continue to shift in modern times, which is why it was necessary to give a county for each name in the introduction to this section. The kaleidoscope continues.

Chapter 3, Part 2

Areas with a single *_funta_ site

Areas 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Material for each site is set out in the following order:

Area number and name of *_funta_ site.

Pre-English names in the area, with accompanying map to show these and other appropriate evidence

Discussion of the evidence.

Area 2 South-west Hampshire, Mottisfont.

Details of this site and area are to be found in Appendix 1, 261 - 8.

Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Andover, SU 365455
Ekwall 1960, 10; Coates 1989, 23; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302, 360; Watts 2004, 14.
S 1515 AD 951x5 (15c) *Andeferas*
10c *æt, to Andeferan*
DB *Andov(e)re*
PrW **onn* + *dïβr*
"ash tree streams".
The river-name Anton used locally is an antiquarian invention from **eastan tune,* 1582 *Eston Towne* etc. However, the river-name Ann, usually taken from the PrW **onn,* "ash tree", presents some problems, as words for trees are not found in simplex form as river-names so it is suggested that the name derives from a village or estate name, as in Ash, Surrey, and the river-name derives from this. Compare the river Onny, Salop, where the second element is thought to be OE *ēa,* "river" (Ekwall 1960, 350).

Ann, Abbots, SU 330435 also Little and Amport
Ekwall 1960, 10; Coates 1989, 19; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Watts 2004, 14.
S 1491 AD 955x8 (14c) *æt Anne*
DB *Anna*
River-name Ann as in Andover (above)
Granted to New Minster, Winchester, at its foundation in AD 901 by Edward the Elder.

Brickworth, SU 220240
Gover et al 1939, 389, 415; Coates and Breeze 2000, 340; Gelling and Cole 2001, 209.
brīco < **brīg,* "a summit".
1255 *brycore* (FF tEd 2)
1268 *Bricore*
The second element has caused discussion. Gover gives it as deriving from *–ōra,* a type of ridge, but Gelling disputes this, with no reason given.

Candover, Chilton, SU 592403, also Brown, Preston
Ekwall 1960, 85; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Watts 2004, 113, 483.
S 242 AD 701 (12c) *Ærest of Cendefer*
S 1507 AD 873x888 *æt Cendefer*
DB *Candovre, Candevre*
PrW **cen* + *dïβr*
"beautiful waters"
13c *Chiltecandevere*
**cilta,* "steep slope".

[Chilcombe Copse, SU 388363]
?**cilta*, "a steep slope".
This entry should be treated with caution as it is not listed by any authority, and its derivation is here only suggested. However, the copse is in a valley bordered by a long steep slope, in the Stockbridge Down area where there are many Iron Age tumuli (see figure).

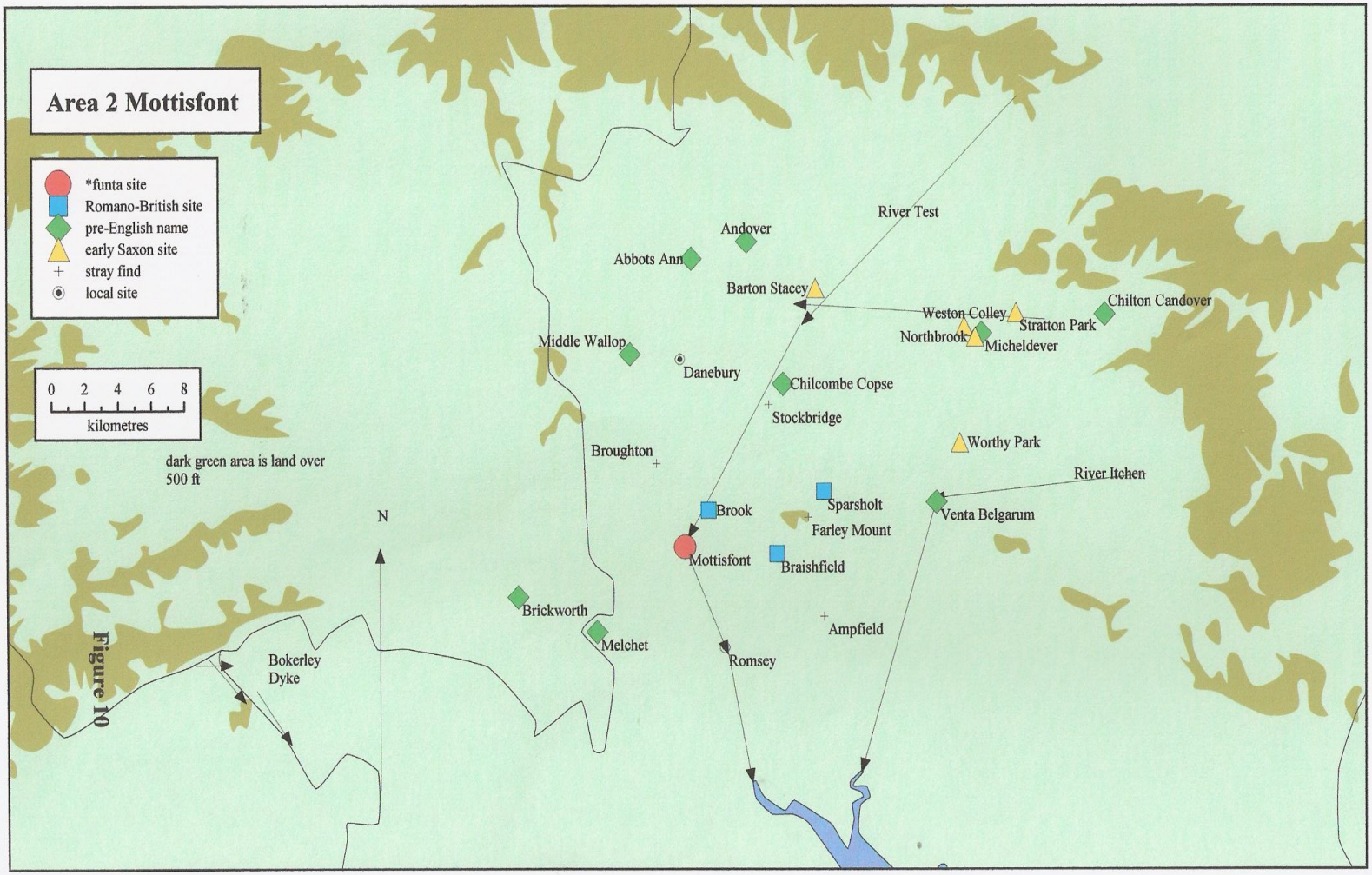
Melchet, SU 270220 (now in Hampshire since 1895).
Ekwall 1960, 320; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Gelling and Cole 2000, 223; Watts 2004, 406.
mēl* + **cēd, *ceto,* "clearing (bare place) in a wood".
1086 *milchet(e) silva.*

Micheldever, SU 514392
Ekwall 1960, 324; Coates 1989, 117; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Watts 2004, 410.
S 335 AD 862 *Mycendefr*
S 360 AD 900 (11c) *Myceldefer*
DB *Miceldevre*
PrW **mïgn* + **dïβr*
"Slimy waters". The river flows through the marshes of the Test.
It appears that during the ninth or tenth century the first element was re-interpreted as OE *mycel,* "great".

Mottisfont, SU 326269
Ekwall 1960, 332; Gelling 1978, 84 – 6; Coates 1989, 119; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 423; Appendix 1, 262.
DB *Mortesfunde, Mortelhunte*
1167 *Motesfont*
1170 *Motesfonte, Motesfunt*
1243 *Mottesfunte*
OE *mōtere* + **funta*
For the first element, Watts suggests a reference to the nearby confluence of the Test and the Dun, but Gelling rejects on the grounds that this is a northern usage, preferring the meaning "speaker", which suggests meetings were held here.

Test, river-name
Ekwall 1960, 463; Coates 1989, 162; Coates and Breeze 2000, 77 – 8; Watts 2004, 604.
S 1277 AD 877 (12c) *andlang testan*
S 378 AD 909 *Ærest þær seo dic sciet of terstan*
S 812 AD 967x975 *andlang þar ealde terste*
A difficult name, but may be from a word such as Welsh *tres,* "a tumult, uproar" (Breeze in Coates and Breeze).

Wallop, Middle, SU 291380, also Nether, Over
Ekwall 1960, 493; Coates 1989, 168; Coates and Breeze 2000, 302; Gelling and Cole 2000, 135; Watts 2004, 646.
DB *Wallop(e)*


Area 2 Mottisfont
*funta site
Romano-British site
pre-English name
early Saxon site
stray find
local site
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kilometres
dark green area is land over 500 ft
N
River Test
Andover
Abbots Ann
Barton Stacey
Weston Colley
Chilton Candover
Stratton Park
Northbrook
Micheldever
Middle Wallop
Danebury
Chilcombe Copse
Stockbridge
Broughton
Worthy Park
River Itchen
Brook
Sparsholt
Farley Mount
Venta Belgarum
Mottisfont
Braishfield
Brickworth
Melchet
Ampfield
Romsey
Bokerley Dyke

Figure 10

Unexplained by any OE elements, so thought to be pre-English.

Winchester, SU 482293
Rivet and Smith 1979, 492; Coates and Breeze 2000, 303; Watts 2004, 684; Appendix 1, 262.
HE iii, 7 *in civitate Uenta quæ a gente Saxonum Uintancæstir appellatur*
S 254 AD 737 *Wentanæ ecclesiæ*
S 425 AD 934 (the charter was signed) *in civitate opinatissima (sic) quæ Winte ceaster nuncupatur*
DB *Wincestre, Wintonia*
**uenta + Belgarum*
The Romano-British name of Winchester was *Venta Belgarum*, the special place and *civitas* capital of the Belgae, who were the local tribe in AD 43, and it is suggested that they may have had prior to this date a close relationship with the Empire (gaz 128). The first element, *venta*, is of uncertain origin (see appendix), neither Latin nor British but pre-British, mediated into Brittonic and then into OE, hence the genitive form *Wintan-*. Since the Belgae are believed to have come to Britain a relatively short time before the Claudian invasion, it would appear that they adopted the pre-existing name, *uenta,* for their site which had been important in the LPRIA (Coates 1983 – 4, 3).
The second element, *-chester*, was frequently used by the Anglo-Saxons, and at Winchester a section of the Roman wall may still be seen. S 463 AD 940 refers to a mill near the east gate of the city: *anæ mylnæ æt þam geast geate æt Wintan ceastræ,* and a mill (of later date) is still in existence there today. The spelling varies between medial *–e-* and *–i-*, and Bede uses both in the same sentence (above).

Discussion.

There is little evidence in the vicinity of Mottisfont which may be dated with any degree of precision to the late fourth or early fifth century.The villa at Sparsholt, some 10km to the north-east, fell out of use by the mid-fourth century, suggesting that any level of prosperity which the area had previously known had declined by this time (Appendix 1, 264). At *Venta Belgarum*, some 16 km to the north-east, there appears to have been occupation into the fifth century (see chapter 3, Area 3) but inevitably the population and grandeur of the city had declined with the general decline of Roman presence and authority. Closer to Mottisfont there is evidence of a Romano-British cemetery at Brook, 2km north of the spring, which is believed to have continued in use into the fourth century (Brown 2009, 69 – 76). About 400m south of this site, down the Test valley, remains of a building were found, consisting of a mortared flint wall foundation with associated third- or fourth-century New Forest and Oxfordshire colour-coated ware, and close by late Romano-British grog-tempered ware. Flue and roof tiles, floor or roofing slabs and a fragment of *opus signinum* suggest that a relatively important Romano-British building lay nearby, some material indicating re-use (ibid 76). The suggestion of re-use, and the

Figure 11 The steep slope in Chilcombe Copse, Leckford.

presence of grog-tempered ware, may indicate a continuation of occupation into late Roman times. This is the only sign known as yet of any occupation in Roman times which lay at all close to the spring at Mottisfont.

The pre-English names in the area are largely river-names, and, apart from the Test, at some distance from Mottisfont. Brickworth is an unsure derivation (Coates and Breeze 2000, 340) and the element *cēd* in Melchet is not unusual. Test, Itchen and Wallop have no easy explanation in Brittonic terms. The Brittonic element *duβr,* plural *dïβr*, occurs in the names Micheldever and Candover with British qualifiers, and also in Andover though this qualifier has provoked some discussion (above). Surviving British river-names are not unusual and do not necessarily indicate a continuation of British speech, but rather, in inland areas, a linguistic contact between indigene and immigrant. It should, however, be noted that the preservation of grammatical forms, in the development of Andover in particular, may indicate some bi-lingualism (Watts 2004, 14). There is early settlement and cemetery evidence in the Andover area (Stoodley pers com), and the proximity of the early settlement in the Dever valley may support the idea of close contact (below).

An early Anglo-Saxon presence is well-evidenced at Winchester and in the valleys of the Itchen and the Dever. Near Winchester cemeteries have been excavated to the north and east of the town in the Itchen valley, for example at Worthy Park (Hawkes 2003; Appendix 1, 265). There is also a notable amount of evidence from the Dever valley, where, at a site near Barton Stacey, at the confluence of the Dever with the Test, alongside a Roman road and overlooking the Test, metal-detecting finds appear to indicate an early Anglo-Saxon presence, near a ditched Romano-British site (Stoodley pers com). Other sites in the Dever valley have been excavated. Some 10km upstream of the confluence, a mixed-rite cemetery was excavated in 2003 at Weston Colley, where dating evidence showed a continuation from the mid-fifth century until the late seventh, and this also was near a site thought to be of Romano-British date (Fern and Stoodley 2004). Close by at Northbrook, 1km to the east, a small Romano-British site was excavated in 1995, where also were found two sunken-featured buildings of basic early type and dating probably to the sixth century, but with associated unstratified and surface finds from its cemetery which dated perhaps to the mid-fifth century. At Stratton Park, where the Roman road crosses the valley, excavations in 1975 showed a settlement which dated to the sixth or seventh century (NMR_NATINV-236435). There have also been stray finds at other places along the valley (NMR; Johnston 1998). Thus the evidence from the Dever valley shows several early Anglo-Saxon sites which were located notably close to Romano-British occupation.

Other isolated scattered finds of early Germanic material have been made at some distance from the Dever valley, such as the lone late fifth- or early sixth-century weapon burial at Farley Mount and an inhumation with weapons on Broughton Down (Appendix 1, 265). However, no early Anglo-Saxon material is known to the south of Mottisfont. At Romsey, 8km downstream on the Test, the only convincing evidence dates to the foundation of the abbey in the tenth century with signs of associated industrial activity (NMR_NATINV-2271560). Thus the evidence of early

Germanic incomers in the area is present, but at some distance and to the north.

The method of the arrival of these Germanic incomers is not clear. There is the question of access from Southampton Water into the Test and the Itchen, which have different conditions at their mouths. There is no problem with entry into and progress up the Itchen, which would have been straightforward, and early Saxon brooches have been found near the Itchen south of Winchester (eg Stedman 2003), with a cemetery at Twyford (in press). However, access into the mouth of the Test from Southampton Water would have presented some difficulty, as there the water is shallow and the land is marshy. If the early Germanic folk managed to penetrate the mouth of the Test, it would appear on present evidence that they continued upstream, passing Mottisfont, until they reached the confluence with the Dever. It would perhaps have been easier to reach the Dever valley overland from the Itchen valley, as the terrain is not difficult to cross and there was a Roman road connecting the two (Margary 42a, *Venta* to *Calleva Atrebatum*). This would also help to throw light on the similarities between the patterns of settlement in the two valleys, as the Dever valley settlers may have been part of the Itchen valley group.

It has been suggested that the Dever may mark the northern extent of a Jutish territory in south and west Hampshire, which would include the Winchester area. There are parallels between the patterns of settlement in the upper Itchen valley and the Dever valley (Johnston 1998, 106). It may be that the Test formed the western boundary of such an area and the spring at Mottisfont was a marker of an early area of British authority in the area of the lower Test, where the lack of early Germanic material is notable, though later it appears that the New Forest was considered to be Jutish territory (Yorke 1989). The Chilcomb estate has been thought to be a continuation of a defined area of authority around Winchester deriving from the *territorium* of *Venta* (Biddle and Biddle 2007), and, though alterations to the estate were made, in 1086 the boundary of this estate was about halfway between Winchester and Mottisfont (ibid 200, Fig 11).

Mottisfont therefore lies in an area where early Anglo-Saxon settlement is unproven, outside the area of the authority of Winchester, well south of the settlement in the Dever valley and on the Test with no known early Anglo-Saxon settlement to the south. If a spring were a defining territorial marker, the copious unfailing flow at Mottisfont would have been an obvious choice.

Later in the period Mottisfont became an important Saxon site.The first element of the name indicates that meetings were held here (Appendix 1, 261 - 2) so possibly it was a place where people were convened for political or judicial purposes, to bring taxation in kind or for reasons of religion, though it was not, apparently, a hundred meeting site. In 1086 Mottisfont lay in the hundred of Broughton, but the manor of Mottisfont was by then important enough to be listed as having a church and six dependent chapels, which would normally identify it as a mother church probably dating from at least the early tenth century (Yorke pers com). Broughton had one of the dependent chapels, but the fact that its hidation is not listed in 1086 indicates that it was probably a royal estate. Mottisfont was held of the king by the Archbishop of York. The present twelfth-

century church at Mottisfont is only 300m from the spring which is in the grounds of the former Augustinian abbey, which proximity is another indicator of mother church status.

Mottisfont was named as a **funta*, and a place where people gathered, and so seems to have been important in some way to the local community. It may have lost some of its earlier significance to Romsey, where in 907 King Edgar founded a nunnery, but a religious significance seems to have continued to be attached to the site, as the 1086 mention of a church with six chapels testifies, then an abbey was founded here. Meetings such as church synods often took place on political margins in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Cubitt 1995, Appendix 2, 296 – 321). The reasons for Mottisfont's prestige in the community is at the moment unclear, but it may relate to the copious spring which still attracts attention.

Area 5 Kent/Surrey border, Pitchfont.

Details of this site are to be found in Appendix 1, 316 - 22.

Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Caterham TQ 335560
Gover et al 1934, 311; Ekwall 1960, 90; Coates and Breeze 2000, 336; Watts 2004, 119.
1179, -80, -81 *Catheham*
1198 etc *Catenham*
1213 *Katenham*
1200 etc *Katerham*
1372 *Caterham, Caturham*
The derivation of the first element has been given as from PrW **cadeir,* cf Irish *cathair,* Welsh *caer, cadeir*, "a chair or seat", as in a piece of high ground. However, Watts rejects this derivation, suggesting that the first element is from an ?OE fem pers n *Catta, -e,* or **catte,* "a wild cat", gen sing *–n.*
The second element is ?OE *ham* or *hamm.*
The medial *–r-* is then intrusive. No reason is given by Watts for his rejection of the traditional derivation. War Coppice, an Iron Age hill-fort, is some 2 – 3km to the south of modern Caterham at TQ 331532 (Appendix 1, 317). The area has steep hills and part of modern Caterham is known locally as Caterham-on-the-hill (personal knowledge).

(**Old) Coulsdon** TQ 312581
Gover et al 1934, 44; Ekwall 1960, 125; Coates 1997 – 8, 19 – 20; Coates and Breeze 2000, 336; Mills 2004, 56; Watts 2004, 161.
S 1165 AD 672x4 (13c) **Curedesdone*
S 420 AD 933 (13c) *Cudredesdone*
S 1035 AD 1062 (13c) *Cuðredesdune*
DB *Colesdone*
The derivation of this name is uncertain.
The first element may be the OE pers n *Cuþred,* gen sing *–es,* + *dūn*, with an Anglo-Norman substitution of *–l-* for *–r-*, but this would need a reduced form of the pers n, for which there is no evidence.
Coates suggests Pr W **cull*< Late Latin **cullus* < Latin *culleus,* "a leather bag or scrotum", here used in a topographical sense.
Watts suggests that there could have been two names for one place, or that an incorrect identification was made.

Chevening (Kent) TQ 489576
Ekwall 1960, 102; Coates and Breeze 2000, 316; Watts 2004, 132.
c1100 *Ciuilinga*
1199 – 1250 *Chivening (-es)*
1226 *Chiueling*
Pr W **ceμn* > **ceβn* > Brit **cemno,* "a ridge" + OE *–ing, -ingas.*

Croydon (Parish Church) TQ 319655
Gover et al 1934, 47; Ekwall 1960, 134; Mills 2004, 61; Watts 2004, 173.
S 1202 AD 870 x 89 *æt Crogdene*
DB *Croindene*
OE *croh* < Latin *crocus* + OE *denu*
The *–n-* form may derive from the OE adj **crogen* < *croh*, as "growing with saffron", or from **crogig*, dat *–an*, as in *æt þæm crogigan dene* (Watts).
Notes on many street names are given in Gover et al, and some local names are discussed by Mills.

Crutchfield (Reigate) TQ 252503
Coates and Breeze 2000, 336.
crüg, "hill".
This is the name of the meeting-place of Reigate hundred, but as yet is unlocated.

Darent, river-name
Ekwall 1960, 139; Kitson 1996, 77 – 82; Coates and Breeze 2000, 365; Watts 2004, 178 – 9.
Watts distinguishes three types of this name:

1. S 186 AD 822 *diorente*
   S 849 AD 983 (12c) *De- Dærentam* etc
2. AD 800 (11c) *Derguentid*
3. AD 1147 (12c) *Derwent*

Pr W **derwïnt* > Brit **deruentiū* < **derua,* "an oak-tree", thus "oak-tree river", an Ancient or Brittonic name.
Kitson makes a full investigation of this river-name, linking its derivation with other river-names in England, such as Derwent, and abroad, such as Durance (France), and suggests derivations for the suffix *–vent.*

Leatherhead TQ 167562
Gover et al 1934, 78; Ekwall 1960, 292; Coates 1979 – 80; Coates and Breeze 2000, 336; Watts 2004, 365.
S 1507 AD 873 x 88 (11c) *æt Leodridan*
DB *Leret*
Gover et al describe this name as "an unsolved problem", stating that what the ultimate (and possibly Celtic) substratum may be, it would be hazardous to conjecture.
Coates prefers a wholly Brittonic derivation, from *lēd,* "grey or brown", + *rïd,* "ford".
Watts prefers a wholly OE derivation, from OE *lēode,* people, + *rida*, "a ford or path which can be ridden", so a public path/ford.

Limpsfield TQ 405532
Gover et al 1934, 323; Ekwall 1960, 298; Coates and Breeze 2000, 336; Watts 2004, 373
DB *Limenesfeld(e)*
**limen* < Brit **leman,* "growing with elms", **lïµVn* as a district name

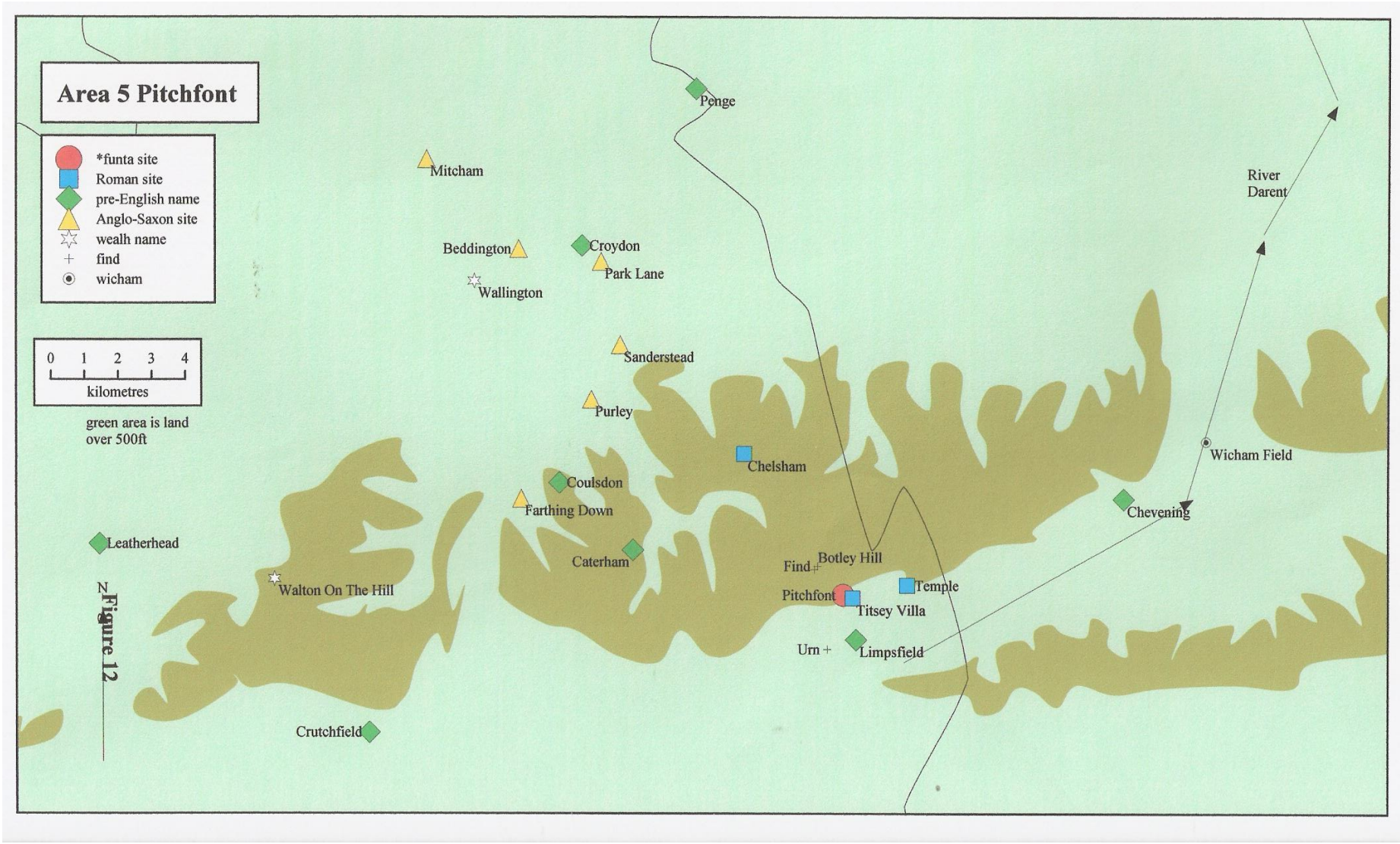

Area 5 Pitchfont
*funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
wealh name
find
wicham
0 1 2 3 4
kilometres
green area is land over 500ft
N
Penge
Mitcham
Beddington
Croydon
Park Lane
Wallington
Sanderstead
Purley
Chelsham
Coulsdon
Farthing Down
Caterham
Leatherhead
Walton On The Hill
Crutchfield
Find
Botley Hill
Pitchfont
Temple
Titsey Villa
Urn
Limpsfield
Chevening
Wicham Field
River Darent

Figure 12

gen sing *limenes* + OE *feld,* "open land called *Limen,* where elm trees grow".

Penge TQ 355704
Gover et al 1934, 14; Ekwall 1960, 361; Coates and Breeze 2000, 336; Mills 2004, 175; Watts 2004, 466.
S 645 AD 957 (12c) *Herto ge byreð se wudu þehatte pænge* (but this form may have been altered by the later scribe)
AD 1067 *Penceat* (probably the earliest form)
PrW **penn* + **cēd*
"The wood on the hill".
Cf eg Welsh *Pencoed.* The name should have become *Penchet,* but the diminutive suffix was dropped, so *Pench*' > Penge.
S 645 has an appendix to the bounds which describes the land at Penge as a wood or swine pasture attached to the manor of Battersea, of which it remained a part until 1888. The circumference is given as 7miles, 7furlongs and 7 feet in circumference (*Seofen milen and seofen furlang and seofen fet embeganges*).

Pitchfont, TQ 401546
Gover et al 1934, 324; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 316.
1391 *Pychefronte* (Lane)
1402 *Pichesfunte*
1505 *Pychezfount*
OE pers name *Pīc,* gen sing *–es,* + **funta.*

Wallington, TQ 285644
Gover et al 1934, 55; Coates 1997 – 8, 20; Mills 2004, 238; Watts 2004, 646.
1076 – 84 *Waletona juxta Mordon*
DB *Waleton(e)*
OE *wala,* gen pl of *w(e)alh + tun*
"The farmstead of the British".
The intrusive *–ing* probably came about as a parallel to nearby Beddington etc.

Walton-on-the-hill, TQ 222551
Gover et al 1934, 83; Coates 1997 – 8, 20; Watts 2004, 649.
DB *Waltone*
OE *wala,* gen pl of *w(e)alh + tun*
"The farmstead of the British".
Gover et al suggest that since there is no recorded spelling with medial *–e-,* a derivation from OE *weall,* "wall", is preferable.

Wickham Field, Otford TQ 515594
Gelling 1988, 246.
1285 *Wycham*
1516 *Wykham*
wīchām

Discussion.

There is as yet no known evidence of a Roman presence in the area later than the mid-fourth century. The nearby temple on the road from London to the Weald has produced no evidence later than the third century (Appendix 1, 317 - 8), but it may be that the large villa complex at Titsey continued to be occupied to the end of the Roman period by a sub-Roman population who would be archaeologically invisible. This villa complex is claimed to be unique in southern Britain, as it appears that as well as the original winged-corridor villa, excavated in the 1860's, a second villa was constructed later, with two other buildings and a large courtyard between the villas. Thus it appears that there were two winged villas facing each other across a stream, which with the other buildings and the courtyard made an extensive farm settlement not paralleled locally, beside a Roman road, in an area of productive, well-watered land in the valley which is sheltered by the North Downs and the Weald. Much of the extensive site has not been excavated and the Titsey estate is now held in trust (unpublished information supplied by Surrey County Council SMR Office; see also Appendix 1, 318). In this situation it is reasonable to suppose that occupation may have continued in some form. The villas at Chelsham and at Walton-on-the-hill appear to have fallen into disuse during the fourth century.

Close to Pitchfont to the south in the valley is Limpsfield, whose first element is agreed to be Brittonic. Other pre-English names are largely to the north, in the area of the Downs or further north in the Croydon area as far as Penge. The derivation of Coulsdon and Caterham has caused some discussion among place-name scholars, and in these cases topography may inform onomastics, as the steep slopes of the Downs certainly suggest a high seat-like promontory at Caterham-on-the-hill, similar to the use of the Welsh use of the first element in *Cadair Idris* in Gwynedd (NGR SH 711130), and Old Coulsdon sits in a valley like a bag. These features reinforce arguments for a Brittonic derivation.

Place-name and archaeological evidence suggests that the area around Pitchfont was sparsely populated in the late Roman period, but the **funta* at Pitchfont suggests that this was a named place at this time, in or near the district called *Limen* (Limpsfield). This reinforces the argument that occupation may have continued at the complex at Titsey. The district of *Limen* may have extended to the east along the valley of the upper Darent which was protected to the north and south by high ground, and close to the point where the Darent changes course, changing to a northerly direction towards its mouth in the Thames, the name Chevening has a Brittonic first element. Some 2km to the north-east of Chevening is Wickham Field, Otford, which may indicate that British authority held good here. The north - south Darent valley was occupied into the fifth century (Appendix 1, 328), and at Otford itself there was a villa which pottery evidence shows to have been occupied during the fourth century (VCH Kent iii, 122). It may well have been that an enclave of British people continued to flourish in this locality, recognised by the incomers and given the Old English term *wīchām.*

The evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence is well to the north of Pitchfont, in the area to the south of the Thames which is well-known to have been settled early in the Anglo-Saxon period (Hines 2004a, 92 – 4). Cemeteries at Mitcham and Croydon have both produced artefacts which indicate a beginning in the fifth century. Mitcham is believed to have begun in the mid-fifth century, continuing till the seventh century, with 238 known inhumation graves spread over three sites but was probably even more extensive, as it was discovered in 1848 and has been disturbed at intervals since then (NMR_NATINV-400549; Welch 1976). The cemetery at Croydon Park Lane and Edridge Road, which has revealed a late Romano-British coffin burial, is believed to have held between 250 and 300 inhumations and about 83 cremations, beginning in the fifth century and extending in use into the seventh century (NMR_NATINV- 404039). At Beddington the cemetery may also have been of considerable size and includes both inhumations and cremations. This site dates largely to the sixth and seventh centuries, but has produced a cast saucer brooch of fifth-century date like one found at Mitcham, and a rich barrow inhumation dating to the late seventh century (Poulton 1987, 199).

It is thus evident that there was a sizeable Anglo-Saxon community in the Croydon/Mitcham/Wandle valley area, which developed from the mid-fifth century onwards. To the south the terrain becomes more difficult, but there are cemeteries at Sanderstead railway station and Purley Russell Hill and Mitchley Avenue. The site at Sanderstead was discovered in 1884 so there is no accurate dating (Hines 2004a, 97), but at Purley the inhumations have been dated to the early sixth century (NMR_NATINV-404237, 404258). Further south still the inhumation cemetery on Farthing Down has been dated to the first quarter of the seventh century. There are in all ten barrows in two groups here, which were excavated between 1760 and 1949, some in earlier barrows possibly dating to the Bronze Age. The site contains child inhumations, in both flat graves and barrows, and rich grave goods from the site include a gold pendant with a cross design, silver pins, a sugar-loaf shield boss and a wooden drinking cup with gilt-bronze mounts with an interlace decoration (NMRMIC-3771; Poulton 1987, 200, Struth and Eagles 1999, 47 – 8). The cemetery evidence suggests that the communities based in the Wandle valley were stable for perhaps two centuries, gradually extending their territory southwards during this time until they reached the edges of the Downs.

Evidence suggests that the settlement around Croydon and in the valley of the Wandle may have been agreed with the indigenous population, the incomers settling at important nodes in the Late Roman communications network (Hines 2004a, esp 93). Beddington had been at the centre of a Roman villa estate (Thompson et al 1998, 227 – 8), and place-name evidence supports the notion of an agreed settlement area, with linguistic contact between indigene and incomer. Early forms of the place-name Croydon show that the development of the medial *–c-* in the Latin *crocus*, itself an element of rare occurrence, was adapted into an OE velar *–g-*. Penge, at no great distance, is a purely Brittonic name. Farthing Down is in the district of Coulsdon. The name Wallington also indicates that there was still a notable British community there when names were coined in Old English. Limpsfield and Chevening testify to a British survival in an area

where no early Anglo-Saxon presence has been discovered, with Pitchfont clearly located on the southern edge of the North Downs scarp where the Roman road emerges from the difficulties of crossing the high ground.

It has been suggested that there was an early Anglo-Saxon estate stretching north to south, both to the east and west of what is now the county boundary (Blair 1989, 99 fig 7.1). Part of this may have been a now-lost archiepiscopal estate centred on Croydon, formed in the mid-Saxon period from a border lathe which then fragmented in the late ninth century. Croydon may have been acquired by the archbishop of Canterbury as early as, perhaps, the seventh century (Blair 1991, 25), and was still held by Canterbury in 1086, its hidage then reduced from 80 to 16 (DB). There are continuing links between Croydon and Canterbury: there was an Archbishop's palace here, rebuilt at Addington, which is part of Croydon, and in the churchyard of the church of St Mary the Virgin, Addington village, is a memorial to five archbishops (personal knowledge).

An early estate encompassing an area now shared between Surrey and Kent may have varied considerably in extent and with varying boundaries. The barrows on Farthing Down (above) are part of a linear group which may have formed a territorial border marker at an early period (Blair 1991, 17 – 18), and the development of the supposed estate would correspond with the dating and siting of the cemeteries, starting in the north of the area and gradually extending to the south, to the infant river Darent at Limpsfield, with Pitchfont thus near the southern edge, and the Roman road providing access.

The boundary between Surrey and Kent may have been subject to a great deal of variation as political fortunes changed. At various times Surrey fell under the control of Wessex, Mercia and Kent, and at one time Surrey may well have extended as far east as the Darent valley, or even the Medway (Poulton 1978, 218; Blair 1989, 98 – 100; Hines 2004, 92). The present county boundary corresponds to the bank at Moorhouse near Pitchfont (Appendix 1, 319).

The position and name of Pitchfont therefore appears to have retained its status as a boundary marker through many centuries, from early Roman times when it accompanied the temple (itself built over an Iron Age site) near the villa as a staging post on the lonely Roman road, into early Anglo-Saxon times when it was a marker of British authority, and still in mid-Saxon times when it lay on the edge of an early estate. Still today it lies just by the county boundary.

Area 6 South-east London, north-west Kent, Wansunt.

Details of this site are to be found in Appendix 1, 325 - 32.

Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Addiscombe, TQ 340665
Ekwall 1960, 3; Gelling 1977, 5 – 8; Mills 2004, 2; Watts 2004, 3.
1229 *Edescamp*
1279 *Adescompe*
1456 *Addescombe*
OE pers n *Æddi* + Latin *camp*
"The newly-enclosed piece of land which belongs to *Æ*ddi", who may also have given his name to Addington, a village in a valley about 4km to the south-east where there is a pre-Conquest church.

Cray, river-name
Ekwall 1960, 129; Coates and Breeze 2000, 61 – 3; Mills 2004, 58; Watts 2004, 166.
S 1258 AD 798 (12c) *Cræges œuuelma*, the source of the Cray
S175 AD 814 (10c) *Ærest up of Crægean on fulan riðe*
ASC *sub anno* 457 *Creacanford, Crecganford* (?Crayford) is not accepted as linguistically compatible with modern Cray-
Prim W **crei*, Mid Breton *crai*, Mod Welsh *crai*, "new, fresh, raw", previously also "harsh, rough". Breeze suggests therefore that a roughly flowing stream is indicated, in comparison with the nearby Thames estuary which is wide and calm.

East Wickham, TQ 469769
Ekwall 1960, 516; Gelling 1967, 90; Mills 2004, 73;Watts 2004, 677.
1240 *Wikam*
1254 *Wykham*
1284 *Estwicham*
a *wīchām.*

Wansunt, TQ 505735
Wallenberg 1934, 14; Gelling 1978, 84 – 6; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 325.
1270 (de) *Wantesfonte*
OE pers name *Want, Wont,* gen sing *–es,* + **funta.*

West Wickham TQ 389649
Ekwall 1960, 516; Gelling 1967, 90; Mills 2004, 246 – 7; Watts 2004, 678.
S331 AD 862 *to wichæmamearce ðanne sio westmearc*
S671 AD 955 for 973 *þonne be westan Wichammes gemæru*
DB *Wicheham*
1231 *Wicham*
1284 *Westwycham*
a *wīchām.*

Discussion.

There is good evidence of occupation in this area into the final phases of the Roman era. The sites shown on the accompanying map were all in use in the fourth century, including the Romano-British settlement in Joyden's Wood some 2km from Wansunt, which appears to have come into a second period of use at this time, and in the Cray valley activity seems to have been continuous during the fourth century. Near the source of the Cray, close to the present Orpington station, the large villa complex was the hub of an estate which may have continued into the fifth century (Appendix 1, 327). In the Darent valley likewise activity continued, in places on a notable scale: at some villa complexes store-rooms were constructed in the fourth century, probably to store grain ready for shipment to the Roman army on the Lower Rhine. The Lullingstone villa was destroyed by fire in the early fifth century, but the evidence indicates that there had been a thriving Christian community here (ibid, 328).

Wansunt appears to have been situated in an area which maintained its importance for supplying Imperial needs, where commerce and agriculture may have lessened as the Imperial presence gradually withdrew, but still continued to function on a notable level. However, the name Wansunt itself is the only surviving evidence of any form of pre-English speech hereabouts, and today the name is only to be seen on the road-sign. On the Ordnance Survey maps of 1805 and 1905 Wansunt Manor was marked (Mills 2004, 240) and in 1880 Wansunt was the name of a farm with a pond on the 6-inch map (Cole 1985, 8). No Brittonic or other pre-English names are known, and the only other name to be noted is Addiscombe, which like Wansunt contains as generic an element which is considered to be a direct loan from Latin (Gelling 1977). The first recorded reference to Wansunt is in 1270, *de Wantesfonte* (Wallenberg 1934, 14), where the first element is the genitive singular of the personal name *Want,* found also in Wansley Barton, Devon (Gover et al 1931, 119) and Wantley Farm, Sussex, here probably from the diminutive form *Wanta* or **Waneta* (Mawer and Stenton1929, 219). Wallenberg suggests that the name *Want* may be of non-Germanic origin, but Mawer and Stenton compare it with Old German *Wanito,* Old High German *Wanzo.* This local absence of pre-English place- or topographical names near a **funta* is unusual though not unknown elsewhere, and various suggestions may be made as to the isolation of a single pre-English name. It may be that in the area around Wansunt the continuity of activity into the late Roman period, probably coupled with a certain relative density of population, meant that Latin was still needed as a *lingua franca* for commercial and administrative purposes, to the detriment of the survival of the indigenous Brittonic language. It may be that the local population were perceived, or perceived themselves, as having a certain prestige if they spoke Latin, and when Germanic speakers arrived their language soon replaced Latin as the language of prestige and usefulness. The early arrival of the incomers and the possible agreement of their settlement in these areas (below) may have encouraged an early embracing of the early Old English language, even by the (perhaps) Brittonic-named *Want* who retained control of his *fontāna* which then became a **funta.*

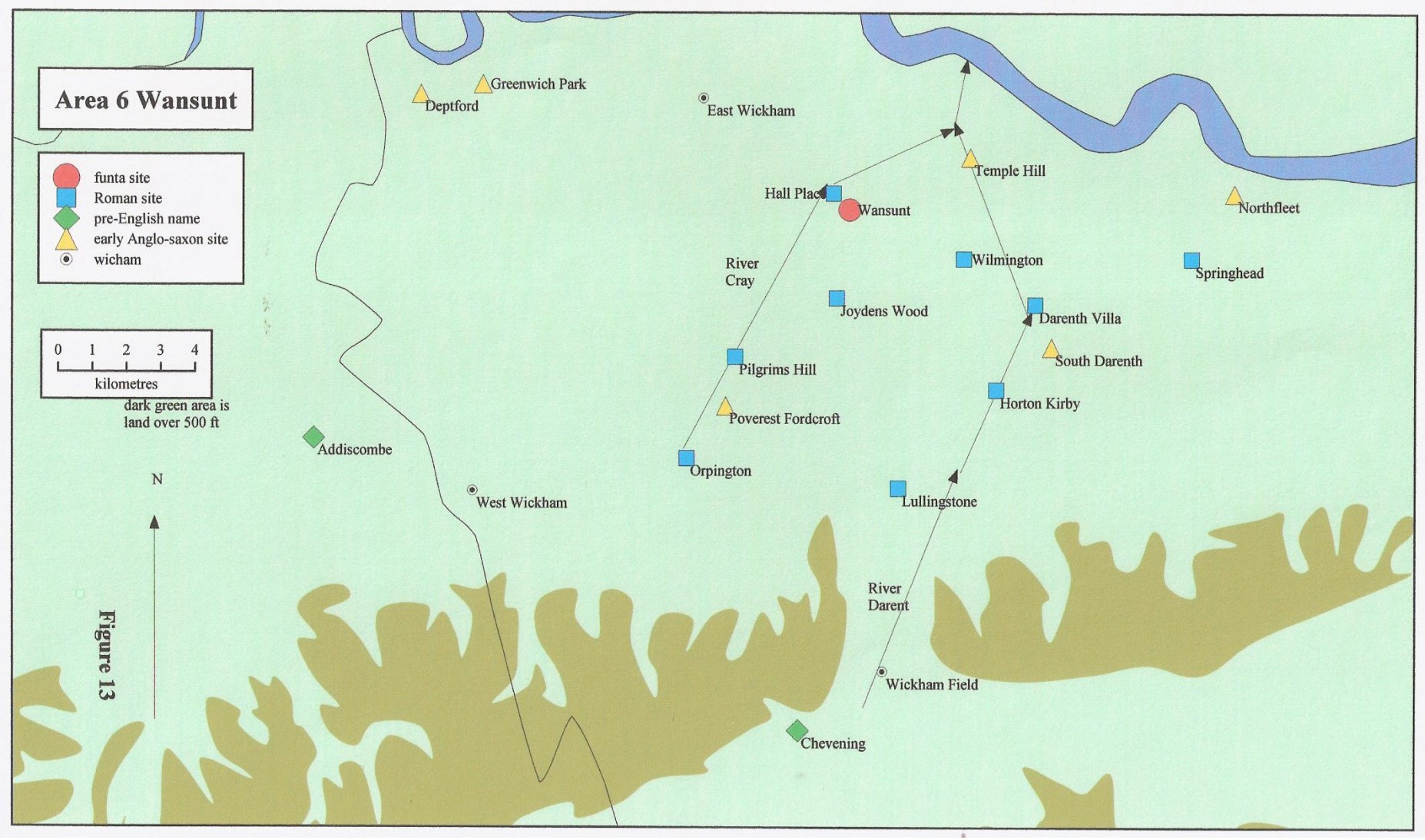

Area 6 Wansunt
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
early Anglo-saxon site
wicham
0 1 2 3 4
kilometres
dark green area is
land over 500 ft
N
Deptford
Greenwich Park
East Wickham
Temple Hill
Hall Place
Wansunt
Northfleet
River
Cray
Wilmington
Springhead
Joydens Wood
Darenth Villa
South Darenth
Pilgrims Hill
Horton Kirby
Poverest Fordcroft
Addiscombe
Orpington
West Wickham
Lullingstone
River
Darent
Wickham Field
Chevening

Figure 13

The two river-names Darent and Cray are of pre-English origin, a survival which is not unusual, particularly where occupation is known from pre-Roman time (Jackson 1953, 220 - 1). However, it is notable that there are two *wīchām* sites within 14km of each other to the western side of the Darent/Cray region. East Wickham lies beside that section of Watling Street which runs between Greenwich and Crayford (Margary 1c) and here evidence from Roman times has been excavated. Near modern Wickham Lane two Roman inhumation burials were found, one in a lead coffin, the other accompanied by pottery, with other pottery and rubbish nearby, and iron knife and a bell. The graves had been filled in early in the Roman period (NMR_NATINV-407894). East Wickham is now engulfed by the urban sprawl of Woolwich and Bexley. West Wickham, which lies just inside the present Kentish county boundary, is now on the edge of the countryside. The modern settlement of West Wickham is around crossroads from where routes lead to Croydon and London, and one which leads to the old church and Wickham Court, rebuilt in 1480 as a fortified manor house, and it is this site which is believed to have been the original *wīchām.* It is on the Roman road which leads from London to Lewes (Margary 14) and which for many kilometres forms the county boundary between Kent and Surrey, and may in places be seen hereabouts as a hedgerow. It is suggested that this location in West Wickham parish, of church and manor, is in fact the *Noviomagus* of the Antonine Itinerary (Appendix 1, 337). A Roman cremation cemetery was discovered in 1933 2km further north on this road (Cook and McCarthy 1933) and near the church, on the line of the road, evidence of the buildings of a Roman settlement was found in 1966, with coins, sherds and a smith's workshop. A secondary road appears to have linked this site with Springhead via Poverest Fordcroft, Orpington, where pebble metalling and ditches were found in 1988 (Philp 2002, 32 – 4). Thus the Latin elements **funta* and *camp* are supplemented by the OE/Latin compound appellative *wīchām.*

An early Anglo-Saxon presence is indicated in both the Cray and Darent valleys (Appendix 1, 328 - 9), and it is notable that the evidence of such presence coincides with the evidence for a late Roman occupation, in both valleys (Richardson 2005, 73). In the Cray valley this is particularly so at Orpington, Poverest Fordcroft, where 21 cremation and 64 inhumation graves, including some of children, were excavated between 1965 and 1978. The grave-goods date the cemetery to the second half of the fifth century and sixth century, and include a rare Stage 1 bow brooch comparable to finds in eastern England, probably manufactured around AD 400 but damaged when interred, thus dating the grave to later in the fifth century, and also a pair of fifth-century applied saucer brooches (Welch 2007, 231). The cemetery lies beside a Roman road (above) and next to a Roman bath-house, which the excavators suggest may still have been standing at the time the cemetery was in use. One of the inhumations was on the surface of a Roman courtyard (Tyler 1992, 73; Richardson 2005, Appendix 1, 306). Less than 500m to the east, across the Cray, a sunken-featured building dated to the mid-fifth to mid-sixth century was excavated, which cut into the upper fill of a Roman ditch or land boundary, and both late Roman and Saxon pottery was found (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 11

– 13). In the Darent valley the coincidence of Roman and early Anglo-Saxon presence is evidenced at several sites, notably at Darenth, where evidence to date shows the villa here to have been the largest of all the large villas in the valley (Appendix 1, 327 - 8), dated as having continued in use into the fourth century. At South Darenth, about 1km south of this large villa complex, part of what may be an extensive early Anglo-Saxon cemetery dating from the mid-fifth century was excavated in the 1860's, with the minimum number of graves estimated to 84, though only 10 are recorded. The floriate cross cast saucer brooches date the cemetery to the late fifth to sixth centuries (Tyler 1992, 73; Richardson 2005, ii, 42 – 3). A fifth-century bowl was found here, originating from the Meuse area of Belgium, with a *chi-rho* on the base, and a silver gilt great square-headed brooch, the only example of a great square-headed brooch so far found in West Kent (Welch 2007, 233 – 4). Within the villa complex a sunken-featured building was dated to the late sixth or seventh century (Richardson 2005, 55) but is notable as settlement evidence is particularly scarce. At Temple Hill, Dartford, near the mouth of the Darent, excavation of an inhumation cemetery produced three graves with evidence dating to the mid-third of the fifth century, which include supporting-arm brooches and a crudely copied cast copper-alloy buckle (Welch 2007, 231).

These sites are examples of the many early Anglo-Saxon finds in the Wansunt area. The proximity here of many early Anglo-Saxon sites to sites with Roman buildings is paralleled further west in the Wandle valley at Beddington, and in fact the grave-goods in the Cray/Darent area suggest that the immigrant Germanic people who settled here were of the same provenance as the folk in the Wandle/Croydon area. At Keston at the head of the Ravensbourne a late fifth- or sixth-century sunken-featured building lay within the Roman site (Appendix 1, 330). Close to the mouth of the Ravensbourne at Deptford a site has been found with, so far, two inhumations with grave-goods dating to the first half of the seventh century and comparable to goods from Sutton Hoo and Prittlewell, and also, probably, from East Kent (Gaimster 2005). In Greenwich Park the barrow cemetery revealed a Type H3 spearhead dated to the sixth century, and it is suggested that the raised early barrow where this was found may have acted as a focal point for later burials (Struth and Eagles 1999; Eagles pers com). Again, this site is near the site of a Roman temple (Wallower 2002). At Northfleet too there is evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence from a mixed-rite fifth-century cemetery (Richardson 2005, 73; Appendix 1, 329).

The cemeteries in north West Kent have much in common with contemporary cemeteries in Essex, the Croydon area and more distant sites near Guildford, Surrey and the Sussex sites at Alfriston and Highdown (Welch 1983, 168). In fact any similarity with East Kent emerges only in the early sixth century, with the button and small square-headed brooches at Fordcroft and the small square-headed and silver disc brooches, and rock crystal and silver item, at Temple Hill (Welch 2007, 230). It would appear that the Wansunt area was, like the other areas listed above, settled early by Germanic folk from the Elbe region, with later intermarriage resulting in the presence of goods showing other cultural affinities (ibid 234). The

Thames appears to have been a common entry facility for incomers to the Essex shore and to the river valleys to the south, rather than a dividing line.

The coincidence or proximity of late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon sites may suggest that the Germanic newcomers, and their language, were tolerated here, or may even have been welcomed, for protection or for other reasons, though this would be at odds with the accounts of the incursus as portrayed by Gildas. Old English soon became the language of preference, and although the evidence of continuing Brittonic speech is lacking, given the evidence for late Roman occupation it is unlikely that the area had become an unpopulated desert landscape, and an indigenous population was then supplemented by Germanic immigrant groups, who either chose where to settle or were directed to certain sites. The lack of pre-English place- or topographical names locally may indicate that the Old English tongue soon became pre-eminent, for political reasons or for other advantage. Any statement of British authority which may have been indicated by the name **funta* appears soon to have become redundant, but the two *wīchām* sites suggest British enclaves, so named by the newcomers.

The question of a boundary between peoples or estates is a matter of discussion. The *fæstendīc* (Appendix 1, 330) can be dated with precision only to pre-814, since that is the date of the charter, S 175, which uses the bank-and-ditch as part of the charter bounds (Hogg 1941). It may be that in the Darent/Cray/Ravensbourne/Wandle region there was no early division of territory, and the only significant marker was the Medway, as the western edge of the early kingdom of East Kent. The boundaries of Kent and Surrey may have varied for several centuries, and it may be that the modern concept of such fixed boundaries is inappropriate. Territorial links across the boundary were still functioning at Domesday (Blair 1991, 15 Fig 5). There are many linear earthworks in the transition zone between the counties (ibid 17 – 19) and the *fæstendīc* may have been one of these, an early marker whose usefulness soon evaporated, though the Cray seems to have been a traditional London boundary in later times (Appendix 1, 330). East Kent became wealthy during the sixth and seventh centuries (Welch 2007, 246 – 7) and the see of Rochester was created in 604 for the area west of the Medway. Prior to the seventh century the Darent valley may have been the core of an early administrative region in West Kent (ibid 245), but at some point Surrey may have extended as far east as the Medway (Hines 2004a). The modern boundary between Bromley and Croydon, formerly in Kent and Surrey respectively but now both Greater London boroughs, runs between West Wickham and Shirley, whose first element may be the OE noun *scīr*, shire or division, though it is suggested, with no reason given, that the element here is the OE adjective *scīr,* bright (Gover et al 1934, 50; and see Watts 2004, 546 for comparable place-names).

At the time of writing, the significance of the **funta* at Wansunt is unclear. It must, like other **funta* sites, be considered in its own immediate locality, with the *fæstendīc* and the Cray, but the obscurity of the early political organisation remains.

Area 7 South-east Essex, Tolleshunt.

Details of this site are to be found in Appendix 1, 333 - 7.

Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Great Baddow, TL 726042 and river-name, a tributary of the Blackwater.
Reaney 1935, 233 – 4; Ekwall 1960, 22; Watts 2004, 31; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
S 1487 AD 975x1016 *Beadewan*
S 1036 AD1062 (13c) (*to) beadewan ea*
1086 *Baduuen.*

Colchester, TL 990250
Reaney 1935, 367 – 72; Ekwall 1960, 116; Coates and Breeze 2000, 48, 297
ASC *sub anno* 921/5 *to Colneceastre*
River-name Colne + *ceaster*
Or perhaps the first element is from Lat *colonia* (Coates). The river-name is not a back-formation. The construction is paralleled in Geoffrey of Monmouth (12c) with that of Leicester: *Leircestre*, "the camp on the river *Leire*", *Kaercolvin*, "the camp on the river Colne", where Welsh *cair* parallels OE *ceaster* but the elements are in reverse order.

Layer Marney, TL 920170, also delaHaye, Breton and river-name Layer Brook.
Reaney 1935, 316; Ekwall 1928, xlii; Ekwall 1960, 290 – 1; Coates and Breeze 2000, 297; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
DB *Legra*
From the river-name *Leir*, identical with Loire, France.

Pant, river-name.
Reaney 1935, 9, 449, 502; Ekwall 1960, 357; Coates and Breeze 2000, 297; Watts 2004, 460 – 1; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
Bede c730 *ripa Pentæ*
Battle of Maldon c 1000 *Pantan stream, ofer Pantan*
Today the river is called the Pant above Bocking, north of Braintree, and the Blackwater downstream from here. Locally the estuary may be called the Pant or Pont (Reaney). Cf Welsh *pant*, "a valley".

Rayne, TL 725225 and old river-name.
Reaney 1935,452; Ekwall 1960, 382; Coates and Breeze 2000, 297; Watts 2004, 494; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
S 1501 AD 961x995 (11c) *æt Rægene*
S 1487 AD 975x1016 *æt Hrægene*
S 1043 AD 1066 (13c) *Ræine*
DB *Raines*
This may be the river which is now known as Pod's Brook above Braintree and Brain below. If the *Hr-* spelling is discounted, the name parallels those of the rivers Regen, a tributary of the Danube, and Rye, N Yorks.

Tolleshunt, TL 898122
Reaney 1935, 306; Ekwall 1960, 476 – 7; Gelling 1978, 84 – 6; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 621; Appendix 1, 333.
1068 (1309) *Tollesfonte, -funte*
DB *Toleshunta(m), Tollensum*
C1100 (c1125) (*of)Tollesfuntan*
1196 > *Tol(l)eshunt(e)* etc
OE pers name **Toll,* gen sing *–es,* + **funta.*

Ulting, TL 802088
Ekwall 1923, ch I Type 2, and p 20; Reaney 1935, 298 – 9; Smith 1956, 284 Type 4ii; Ekwall 1960, 486; Coates and Breeze 2000, 266, 297; Baker 2006, 158 – 9.
1086 *Ultingam*
From the river-name Ult, which is identical with Oust in Brittany and Lot in south-west France, + OE *–ing.*

Wall Cottage, Tolleshunt Major,TL 898122
Reaney 1935, 310; Baker 2006, 166 – 7, 169.
This name may derive from OE *w(e)alh,* but forms are late and the derivation is very uncertain.

Wickham Bishops, TL 843125
Reaney 1935, 313; Ekwall 1960, 516; Watts 2004, 677; Baker 2006, 170 – 1.
S 453 AD 940 (13c) *wicham*
1086 *wicam*
OE *wīchām*
Held by the Bishop of London.

Discussion.

The coast of modern Essex was vulnerable to attack by maritime marauders in the late Roman period, and at Colchester the scale of the occupied area appears to have shrunk dramatically during the late fourth century (Appendix 1, 333). There is evidence of continuing activity at Kelvedon and Rivenhall, at the latter even into the fifth century and at Ivy Chimneys where the ritual site may have continued. As to the area around Tolleshunt (Major, d'Arcy, Knights) it is difficult to say more than that there was farming and some level of industrial activity during Roman times. The situation in the fifth century is difficult to assess, and it may have been more densely populated than is apparent.

At first glance there are several pre-English names nearby, but when they are examined they are all formed on river-names, apart from Wickham Bishops some 5km from the spring. Colchester is believed to be from the river Colne (but see the list of names above for a suggested

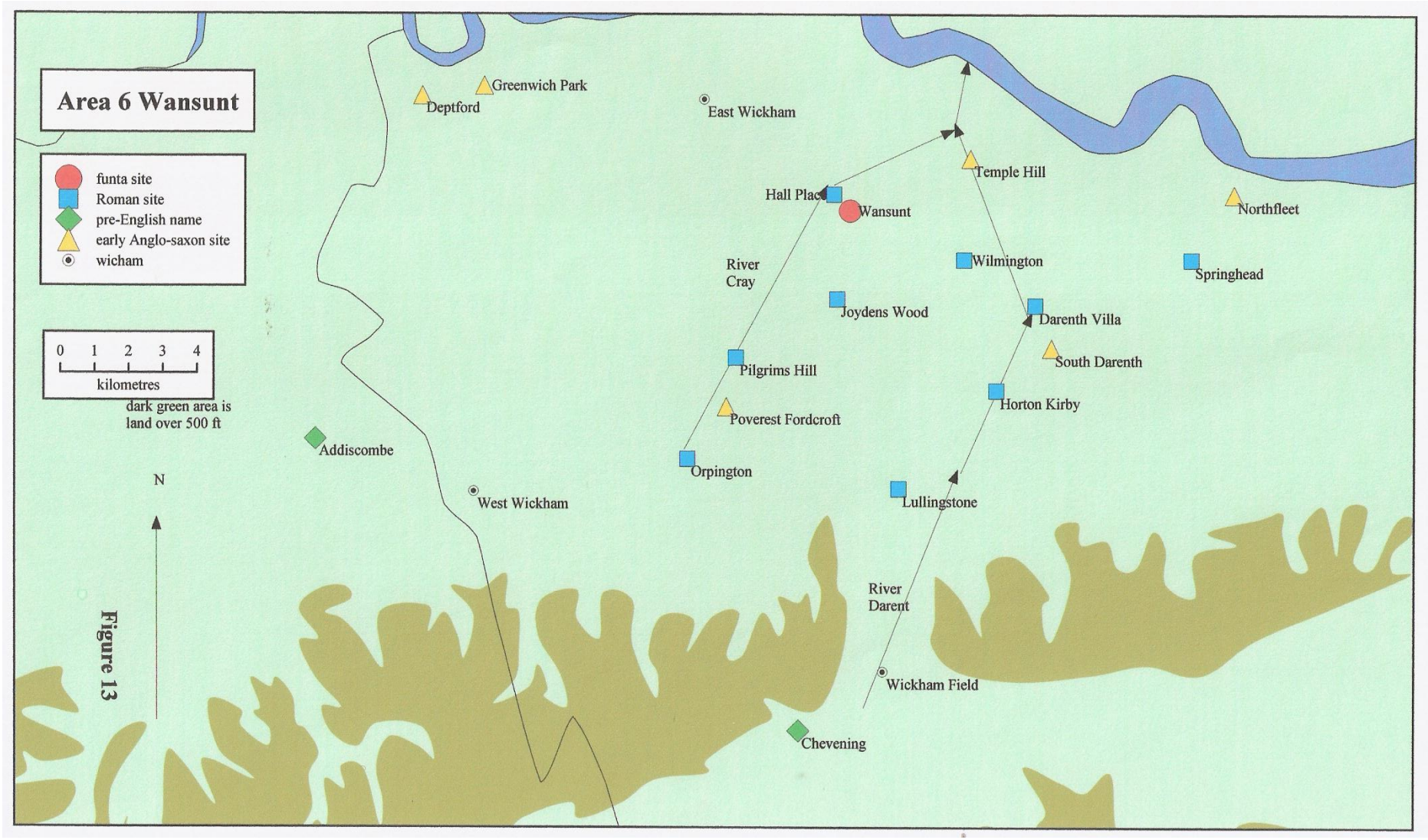

Area 6 Wansunt
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
early Anglo-saxon site
wicham
0 1 2 3 4
kilometres
dark green area is
land over 500 ft
N
Greenwich Park
Deptford
East Wickham
Temple Hill
Hall Place
Wansunt
Northfleet
River
Cray
Wilmington
Springhead
Joydens Wood
Darenth Villa
South Darenth
Pilgrims Hill
Horton Kirby
Poverest Fordcroft
Addiscombe
Orpington
West Wickham
Lullingstone
River
Darent
Wickham Field
Chevening

Figure 13

alternative), Layer Marney (Breton, de la Haye) from the river-name *Leir,* Ulting, Rayne and Baddow likewise from *Ult, Regen* (or similar) and *Beadewan* respectively. River-names which survive from pre-English speech are notoriously unreliable as indicators of areas of continuing British occupation, but the survival of river-names appears to correspond in geographical terms with temporal advance westward across Britain of Germanic immigration (Jackson 1953, 220 – 3). Thus on Jackson's map (ibid 220) the area here under consideration is in Area 1, the eastern area, where in general terms the settlement was earliest and surviving pre-English river-names fewest. In Area 1, the surviving river-names are largely those of large and medium-sized rivers, and such streams as the *Ult, Regen* and *Beadewan* would hardly be classed as such, and so do not fit into the general pattern of river-names in this area. Perhaps, then, the fact that the names of small rivers or streams appear to be continued in the area around Tolleshunt may indicate an unusual continuation of British speech in this small area.

Most of the evidence for an early Germanic presence in this area is sparse and of uncertain date. Rivenhall is some 10km away, Springfield Lyons, where finds may be from the fifth century, is even more distant at some 20km, and evidence from Feering, some 8km away, may be of the sixth century (Appendix 1, 337). The nearest secure evidence of a fifth-century Germanic presence is at Heybridge, 6km to the west at the head of the Blackwater estuary, where the settlement appears to have been temporary, of short duration and for purposes other than long-term domicile (ibid). This settlement appears to have been one where immigrant workers found the Roman town a convenient place in which to be located as long as their work lasted. At Colchester the evidence so far indicates only a small incoming population who again used the Roman town as a convenient place in which to live, or who may have been defensive forces stationed in an old Roman base.

There is no certain evidence of the position or extent of any area of territory around Colchester which would have been assigned to the veterans in the *colonia*, so it is impossible to estimate the relationship of the edge of such territory to the **funta* site at Tolleshunt (Rodwell 1975, 79 – 83). Heybridge would also have had at least a town-zone with land for cemeteries and suburban activities. There appears to have been a Roman road connecting Chelmsford with Colchester via Heybridge, thus passing close to Tolleshunt, though its route is unknown (ibid 80; Appendix 1, 335, 336). Tolleshunt may then mark a British area beyond the town-zone of Heybridge, where Anglo-Saxon settlement was permitted during the fifth century. The *wīchām* at Wickham Bishops is a similar distance from Heybridge.

Tolleshunt lies only 5km from the *wīchām*, in an area where population in the fifth century appears to have been sparse, although there is always the difficulty of identifying the native British population at this time. The spring shown on the map (OS 183) at Wicks Manor Farm is the only location which suggests itself as a **funta*, and even today is barely visible, to the informed eye, as a slightly indented patch of earth where the grass is a darker green, lying within a corner of ground which is enclosed by a hedge, but apparently with no special purpose. The church of St Nicholas, Tolleshunt Major, is about 1km from the farm and commands a

view over the Blackwater to the south. If the **funta* and church were a site of controlling importance, then a view over the estuary and its traffic would be useful. It would appear from the place-names Tolleshunt and Tollesbury that this part of Essex, between Layer Brook and the Blackwater estuary, was taken over at some point by newcomers whose leader was called, or chose the name, *Toll,* at which point the *fontāna,* previously a marker of British occupation, ceased to have that function and became a **funta* named for *Toll.* Across the road from the church is Mill Mound, traditionally the site of the meeting place of the hundred of Thurstable recorded in Domesday (NMR_NATINV-383705). Thus this small location, with **funta,* church and possible hundred meeting-place appears to have held some significance to the local community. The name Thurstable may be derived from OE *Þunres + stapol,* pillar of the god *Þunor,* but even the earliest forms, DB *Turestapla, Thur(e)staple(l), -stapl(e)* (1066 – 87), have no medial *–n-*. If the Mill Mound near the church at Tolleshunt Major is indeed the site of the *stapol* and the meeting-place of the hundred, then it would have been situated almost exactly in the centre of the hundred (Mawer and Stenton 1935, 302).

The earliest known record of landholding here is AD 946 (S 517a), a grant of four hides to *Æ*þelfgifu, a holy woman, by King Eadred, but no bounds are given, and Domesday records that eight hides at Tollesbury were held by the Abbey of Barking for the sustenance of the nuns. Also adjoining the churchyard is Beckingham Hall, named for Stephen Beckinghame, a landholder recorded in 1543 and after whom the parish was briefly named in the early 17th century (Reaney 1935, 306, 309). The enduring epithet for this parish, Major, is from Mauger, undertenant in 1086. In 1086 the area of Tolleshunt was a large manorial holding, parts of which were held by ten separate tenants, and if the values given for these holdings are added together they total 545s. In many of the holdings the population is shown to have increased since pre-Conquest days, and in some places animal numbers too, largely sheep and pigs, indicating that marshland and woodland were utilised. The same appears to have been the case in neighbouring Tollesbury. Thus by this time the Tolleshunt area was well-populated and a good source of income.

Thus it appears that any British control of this relatively small area in the fifth century, which may be indicated by the element **funta* and the appellative *wīchām,* was eroded at some point, though the names continued and the **funta* site retained some degree of importance in local culture and perception, becoming the place where the church was built and the hundred met.

Area 8 North-west Essex, Wicken Bonhunt.

Details of this site are to be found in Appendix 1, 340 - 5. See also Appendix 2.

Pre-English names in the area are as follows:

Bonhunt, Wicken, Essex TL 511335
Reaney 1935, 544; Ekwall 1960, 52; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 677.
DB *Banhunta*
1141 *Banhunte*
1236 *Bonhunt(e)*
OE *bān,* "bone" + **funta*
The first element has caused some discussion, but see Appendix 2.
For Wicken, see entry for *wīc*, Appendix 2, elements.
DB *wicam*
1238 *Wykes*
1561 *Wyckyn*
Hesitation about the gender of *wīc*, and the Midland dialect, have produced the genitive variants –es, -en.

Cumberton Bottom, Little Chishall, Essex TL 425340
Reaney 1935, 521; Baker 2006, 165 – 7
cumbre + OE *tūn*
"the farm of the British".

Castle and Shudy Camps, Cambs TL610440
Reaney 1943, 102; Ekwall 1960, 84; Watts 2004, 112; Baker 2006, 170 – 1.
DB *cāpas, canpas*
1086 *campes*
OE *campas* < Latin *campus*
"Enclosed fields".

Granta, river name, alternative names Cam, Styric
Ekwall 1960, 202; Coates and Breeze 2000, 359; Watts 2004, 259; Baker 2006,
158 – 9.
c745 (9c) *Grante fluminis*
c1000 OE Bede *Grantan stream*
cognates are known in other languages
"shallow, muddy, fen".

Radwinter, Essex TL 600370
Reaney 1935, 512; Ekwall 1960, 379; Watts 2004, 490; Baker 2006, 170 – 1, 172, 177, 184.
DB *Redeuuintra*
Either an unrecorded OE personal name **Rædwynn*, gen sing –e + OE *trēow > tre,* which is very rare, thus "*Rædwynn*'s tree"

or OE *rēad(e)* + **winter* < Latin *vinitorium,* thus "red vineyard".
Many vineyards are known in medieval Essex. The word is used in this way in Old Germanic place-names.
Compare Midwinter, Devon.

Saffron Walden, Essex TL 540380
Reaney 1935, 537; Ekwall 1960, 492; Watts 2004, 644; Baker 2006, 166 – 7.
c1000 *Wealedene*
DB *Waledana*
OE *w(e)alh,* gen pl *w(e)ala + denu*
"The valley where British people live".
The epithet saffron comes into use much later.

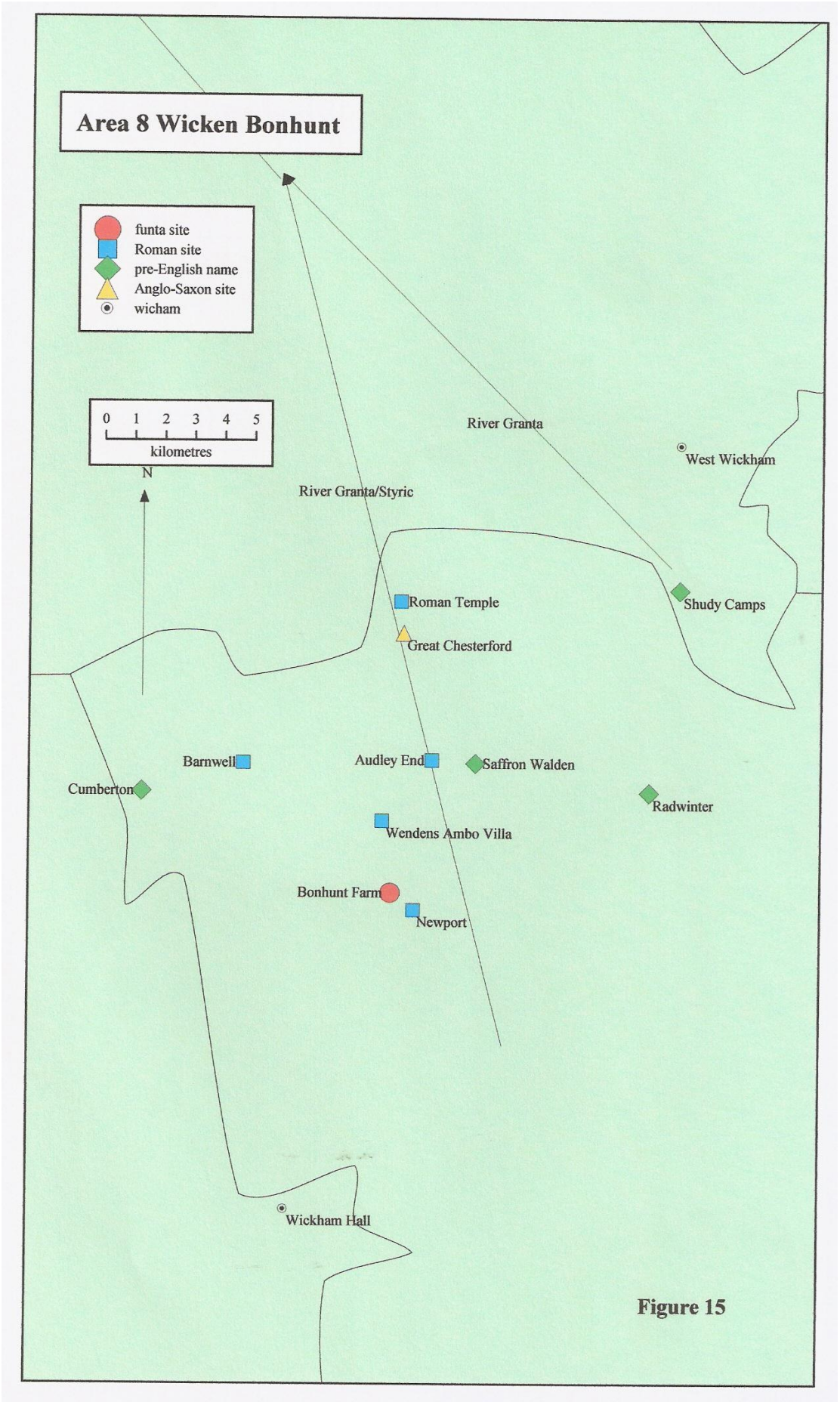
West Wickham, Cambs TL 610490
Reaney 1943, 112; Ekwall 1960, 516; Gelling 1978, 72; Watts 2004, 675; Baker 2006, 170 – 1, 175.
S 794 AD 974 *oð wichammes gemære*
DB *wicheham*
OE *wīchām*
The *–mm-* spelling should be ignored.

Wickham Hall, Bishops Stortford, Herts TL 473230
Gover et al 1938, 203; Ekwall 1960, 516; Gelling 1978, 72; Baker 2006, 170 – 1, 176.
DB *Wicheham*
OE *wīchām.*

Discussion.

The closest pre-English name to Bonhunt Farm is Saffron Walden, at a distance of some 8km, which indicates that there was here an enclave of British-speaking, or merely British, people as perceived by those who spoke Old English or its forerunner. A difference of perception is shown by the name Cumberton, some 12 km away, as this element is usually taken to be the word preferred by the British to describe themselves.

There is evidence that there was widespread activity in the area in the Roman period, continuing at sites such as the villa estate at Wendens Ambo, about 3km from Bonhunt Farm, where occupation was still evidenced in the late part of the fourth century, though no details are available as to what form of activity was taking place here at this time. More details are available for a continuation of occupation and activity of various types into the fifth century at the walled urban area at Great Chesterford, some 8km to the north of Bonhunt (Appendix 1, 342 - 3). Great Chesterford is also the closest site with evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon penetration (Baker 2006, 100- 1; Appendix 1, 343), and is in fact the only place nearby where any early settlement may be seen: at Saffron Walden the earliest evidence is from the seventh century, and the evidence from Wendens Ambo has not been closely dated (Meaney 1964; Stoodley pers com). The material from the cemetery at Great Chesterford shows an


Area 8 Wicken Bonhunt
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
wicham
0 1 2 3 4 5
kilometres
N
River Granta
West Wickham
River Granta/Styric
Roman Temple
Great Chesterford
Shudy Camps
Barnwell
Audley End
Saffron Walden
Cumberton
Radwinter
Wendens Ambo Villa
Bonhunt Farm
Newport
Wickham Hall
Figure 15

affinity with the Cambridge area sites (Evison 1994, 50), suggesting that the incoming people, of Germanic birth or culture, arrived from a northerly direction, probably travelling up the Cam (Granta) and finding a suitable place to settle in the Roman site at Great Chesterford. This may have been agreed or regulated by the resident sub-Roman population. The incoming folk were of mixed types according to the grave goods, not especially prestigious, with "no gold, little silver and jewellery (is) mostly bronze" (ibid 51). Since no other sites of a comparable date are known locally, the Great Chesterford group appear to form an outpost of the settlement area to the north. No securely-dated early Anglo-Saxon site is known to the south of Bonhunt (Baker 2006, 100 – 1) there appears to have been a continuation of British population firmly entrenched here, as shown by the distribution of pre-English place-names.

It is interesting to note that Bonhunt lies between two *wīchām* sites, though they are not equidistant: West Wickham, Cambs is some 18km to the north-north-east, and Wickham Hall, Herts is about 14.5km to the south-south-west. No case can be made for Wicken to be a *wīchām,* on philological grounds (Appendix 1, 340). Both *wīchām* and *ceaster* (as in Chesterford) are Old English derivatives from Latin, and obviously indicated different types of Roman site to the speakers of Old English. It looks as if the newcomers distinguished between the two, settling, or being allowed to settle, where there were Roman remains, including walls, (a *ceaster*), but avoiding a place which may have had some status and was a *wīchām*.

The **funta* site at Bonhunt appears to mark a boundary location demarcating an early Anglo-Saxon settlement from a British area, though not exactly on the edge of the two, as the *walh* site at Saffron Walden lies between Bonhunt and Great Chesterford. The **funta* seems to have been a statement of possession, near, but not exactly on, a border, agreed by both parties, as the term *fontāna* used by the British became **funta* in Old English. It has been suggested that the later parish boundaries in this region may reflect an early polity around Great Chesterford which included Bonhunt as an important site, presumably being gradually taken into Anglo-Saxon authority (Bassett 1989, 25 – 6). The late medieval estate of Bonhunt has been referred to (Appendix 1, 344). Modern parish boundaries are not informative, but the modern county boundaries are interesting. The Bonhunt/Great Chesterford area forms an enclosed corner of north-west Essex, with the two *wīchām* sites firmly placed outside the county border of Essex, though it must be added that Wickham Hall, now in Herts, was formerly in Essex, and is in fact astride the border.

It appears that the area in question formed some sort of unit in the first stages of the development in early Anglo-Saxon times, with Bonhunt marking British territory until people or culture gradually changed and Britain became England.

Area 9 West Cambridgeshire/Peterborough, Funthams.

Details of this site are to be found in Appendix 1, 346 - 54.

Pre-English names in this area are as follows:

Barnack, Northants TF 075045
Gover et al 1933, 230; Ekwall 1960, 27; Coates and Breeze 2000, 322; Watts 2004, 36.
BCS 1130 AD 980 (c1200) *on Beornican*
AD 1065x65 (c1350) *Bernak(e)*
DB *Bernac*
This could be from an English tribal name based on the Brittonic name of Bernicia, the OE folk-name *Beornice,* dat pl *Beornicum* (as BCS 1130), but other forms eg DB indicate OE *beorn* + *āc,* "warrior oak".

Chettisham, Cambs TL 545830
Reaney 1943, 217; Ekwall 1960, 101; Coates and Breeze 2000, 278; Watts 2004, 131.
c1170 – 1475 *Chetesham*
PrW **cēd* "a wood", gen sing **cētes* + OE *ham.*

Crowland, Lincs TF 240110
Ekwall 1960, 27; Coates and Breeze 2000, 321; Watts 2004, 172.
1. AD 745 (c 800) *Crugland, Cruulond, Cruwland* etc.
   AD 745 (9 – 10c) *Cruwland* etc.
2. DB *Croiland*
Watts distinguishes 1 from 2, but says both existed side by side.
He suggests a form in OE **crūw, crūg* "bend in river" < **krū- / *krau* in cognate Germanic languages eg German *kräuel* etc, + OE *–land.*
But Coates suggests also a possible derivation from Brittonic **crou,* "sty" + OE *–land.*

Funthams, Cambs TL 239975
Reaney 1943, 260; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Appendix 1, 346.
13c *Funtune*
1423, 1446 *Funtumwelle*
1603 *Fountains Well*
1636 *Funtans*
originally a simplex from **funta,* then + OE *welle,* then dat pl.
Reaney suggests **funta* + OE *tūn.*

Holland, Lincs, district name
Ekwall 1960, 245; Coates and Breeze 2000, 162 – 4, 321; Watts 2004, 310.
1060 *Hoylandia*
1086 – 1190 *Hoilant, -d* etc
1266 *Holland*
The first element has traditionally been seen as deriving from OE *hōh,* "a spur of land", but this is topographically quite inappropriate (Gelling and Cole 2000, 283; Coates in Coates and Breeze 162). Coates (ibid) makes a

convincing case for a derivation from a form *hoyw* < British **haiw*-, "a swamp", which would make much more sense in topographical terms. It is suggested also that British speech survived until a late date in this inaccessible area, which would reinforce the case for a pre-English derivation.

Nene, river-name
Gover et al 1933, 3; Reaney 1943, 8; Ekwall 1960, 338; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Coates 2005a, 316 – 8.
S 533 AD 948 (12c) *of, on Nyn*
S 1566 AD 964 (12c) *onþa ea æt Nyn*
S 787 AD 972 (12c) *Nén*
Ancient river-name. Coates concludes that the derivation is from a word comparable to Welsh *dwyn,* "beautiful, pleasant", with the intensive prefix **an*-.

Walcot Hall (Northants) TF 080040
Ekwall 1960, 491.
1125 – 8 *Walecot.*
"The cottages of the British".

Welland, river-name
Gover et al 1933, 4; Ekwall 1960, 504; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Coates 2005, 318 – 20.
ASC *sub anno* 921 *norþoþ Weolud*
C 1000 *Uueolod*
Pre 1118 (12c) *Welund*
Ancient river-name.
Perhaps from a British form **welwo – wedā,* "pale blue" > Brittonic/PrW **welw- weð,* > early OE **Welwud.*
Loss of *–w-* between consonant + *-u* is regular.

Discussion.

There is convincing evidence for activity in this area until the end of the Roman period (Appendix 1, 351). Excavation at Orton Hall Farm has demonstrated that occupation continued between c375 and the early sixth century, though the exact nature of what was happening in these years is unclear, and the excavators point out that if it were not for the evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence, the final phases of the Roman site would not be detectable, and it would be easy to dismiss any thought of Romano-British occupation later than the end of the fourth century (Mackreth 1996, 40 - 42). However, during the first part of this phase, ie towards the end of the fourth century, a new drier and vat-base were constructed and the ditch system reorganised (ibid 41). The provision of a new drier suggests continued cereal production, and thus a general continuation of agriculture. While the continuation of activity at Orton Hall Farm is in little doubt, the situation at Lynch Farm, some 2km to the west, is debatable, as excavation of the farmstead has not been so extensive. Here the pottery evidence can be dated to the mid-fourth century, but a coin hoard dating to the end of the

Area 9 Funthams
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-Saxon site
wealh name
multiperiod site
0 1 2 3 4
kilometres
N
Crowland
River Welland
Lincolnshire,
Holland division
Barnack
Walcot Hall
Gunthorpe
River Nene
Peterborough Cathedral
Stanground
Woodstone
Longthorpe
Lynch Farm
Mill Hill
Castor
Alwalton
Orton Hall Farm
Horsey
Farcet
Yaxley
Funthams
Kings Dyke
Whittlesey
Ashton

Figure 16

fourth century may not indicate the continuation of farming at the site (Jones 1975, 132 – 4; Appendix 1, 350).

These two sites were working farmsteads with no evidence of a luxurious lifestyle. Further west, upstream on the Nene, the villas and estates were experiencing a period of wealth and expansion in the later fourth century, an example being the extensive villa complex at Castor. The local mosaic school was flourishing and there is no evidence of any decline at this time (Wild 1974, 152; Fincham 2004, 122 – 3; Appendix 1, 351). The pottery industry continued into the fifth century, and as late as c370 new forms of pottery had been adopted (Wild 1974, 161; Fincham 2004, 146). A sherd from Orton Hall Farm shows the Roman form of a mortarium, but the fabric is of a type dated to the second quarter of the fifth century, which suggests that pottery was being produced in traditional forms, but methods were changing (Fincham 2004, 108). The local iron industry has been less well investigated, but may have been active into the fourth century, perhaps at a lower level of output, and maybe on an ad hoc basis (ibid 117).

Towards the end of the period of Roman occupation many of the the villa estates in the Nene valley appear to have grown larger in extent, and so decreased in number, suggesting that small estates were no longer economically viable and the larger entities were existing on a self-sufficiency basis (Fincham 2004, 122). As the Roman presence in Britain was diminishing in general terms, *Durobrivæ* was declining in importance and the through traffic on Ermine Street lessened. The civic functions of the town were becoming less necessary, as taxation in kind was replacing coin (Fincham 2004, 142 – 3). There is, however, still evidence of wealth in *Durobrivæ*, and the Water Newton hoard bears witness to a flourishing Christian community of some prosperity. The hoard contained a gold disc and 27 silver items, cups, jugs, dishes and flasks, some with a *chi-rho* and Christian inscriptions, and 30 gold coins of AD 330 – 50, probably deposited in the second half of the fourth century (Petts 2003, 118 – 20). It was almost certainly a set of plate used by a local church. Upstream on the Nene, some 10km from *Durobrivæ*, lay the small Roman town at Ashton, where Christianity is also evidenced by a Christian cemetery and a complete lead tank with a *chi-rho* and fragments of a second tank (ibid 164).

It is clear that in the late Roman period the sites to the west of Funthams were still active, at Orton Hall Farm agricultural activity was still taking place, the local pottery industry was still in production and the villas to the west were thriving, albeit reduced in number. It is impossible at the moment to say with any degree of precision whether activity continued into the late Roman period to the east of Funthams (Hall 1987, 57 – 9).

If the villa estates to the west of Funthams continued during the sub-Roman period as self-sufficient enclaves, there is no place-name evidence to bear witness to this. The only securely pre-English names are those of Funthams itself, Chettisham which is some 30km to the south-east, and the two ancient river-names Nene and Welland; pre-English river-names are not unusual (Jackson 1953, 220-2). The nearest *wīchām* is at West Wickham, Cambs, about 50km to the south, and Walcot, near Barnack, is more than 20km north-west. It has been suggested (Coates and

Breeze 2000, 163), that British speech may have persisted in the fenland area to the north of Peterborough, around Crowland, where devils speaking in a British tongue induced St Guthlac to leave his cell

extra cellulam, qua sedebat, egressus est, et arrectis auribus adstans, verba loquentis vulgi Brittannicaque agmina tectis succedere agnoscit

However, it is thought more likely that the devils were the product of a dream rather than local fen-dwellers, since they vanished so rapidly (Colgrave 1985, 110 – 1, 185 – 6). This was, and still is, an area of sparse population and difficult terrain so not particularly attractive to incomers when the richer lands nearer to Peterborough were available, so the local population may have been stable. The lack of survival of pre-English place-names is not surprising as the locality was subject not only to early Anglo-Saxon influence, but also to the depradations of the Danish forces in the ninth century, when the cathedral at *Medeshamstead* was destroyed and thereafter lay in ruin for a century.

The best evidence for an early Anglo-Saxon presence near Funthams is at Orton Hall Farm, where the excavators comment that "there was no good sign for a complete break between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupations. Equally there was none which insisted that people brought up under different traditions lived side by side" (Mackreth 1996, 23). The Anglo-Saxon structures appear to respect and in places accommodate the Roman remains, suggesting that these latter were still standing in some form (ibid 27, 40 – 2). The excavators also suggest that the farm may have been handed over to immigrants, perhaps by the Roman authorities (Fincham 2004, 152). These comments do not address the possibility that occupation may have continued whilst lifestyle changed, the same families continuing to live there but adopting a different way of life and different patterns, for example styles of building. It is also suggested as a possibility that property in the area may have been handed over in exchange for military service (ibid), but there is no evidence for conflict locally, and in fact the absence of any sign of conflict is specifically mentioned in the report on the fifth- to sixth-century cemetery site at Alwalton. This site produced no skeletal evidence for violence or warfare, though plenty of evidence for heavy agricultural work, as would have been expected in such a community (Gibson 2007, 294). The skeletal material recovered from Gunthorpe was in very poor condition, but degenerative and traumatic indications were noted and again no signs of warfare in this sixth-century cemetery (Patrick et al 2007, 214, 233 – 5). In fact many of the sites which have been investigated indicate that where there is evidence of occupation from pre-Roman and Roman times, there is also evidence of occupation in Anglo-Saxon times (NMR). It would have been sensible to continue to use, or to re-use, sites where the land had been cleared or prepared for agriculture, providing it was not exhausted, and although AD410 is a notable date for historians, it would have been the gradual withdrawal of army presence and needs which had an effect on the local economy, making this late Roman to early Anglo-Saxon period one of transition rather than abrupt change (Fincham 2004, 146; see also Dark 2000, especially 227 – 30).

The foundation of the minster church at *Medeshamstead* was an important event for the locality, situated where the territory of the East

Angles approached that of Mercia. A fire in 1161 left only the chapter house and dormitory standing, destroying the library (Swanton 2000, xxvi – xxvii), of which few authentic documents with a date before the early eleventh century survive. However, in around 1121 a copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the E version, was made from a document supplied by Canterbury, into which the scribe inserted 20 interpolations, some of which refer to the history of the foundation, and may have been based on charters extant at the time. Of these, 3 survive which relate to the early endowment of the minster, 2 leases dated AD 789x796 and AD 852 and a memorandum which is unlikely to be genuine in its present form (Kelly 2009, 10 – 11). The scribe has placed the foundation of the minster in AD 656 with a lengthy interpolation referring to estates and endowments by Wulfhere, successor to the traditional founder, Peada of Mercia:

7 ic wile finden þærto gold 7 silver, land 7 ante 7 al þet þærto be hofeð (ASC [E] *sa* 656)

A seventh-century foundation is corroborated by Bede (HE iv, 6). The minster was said to have been destroyed by a Danish attack in 870 (ASC [E]). Perhaps more credibly, because there would have been nothing to gain, the *Chronicle* also tells us that there was a spring at the site of the monastery

And hi swa diden 7nama hit gauen Medeshamstede forþan þet ðær is an wel þe is gehaten Medeswæl (ASC [E] *sub anno* 654).

Coates (1988) has suggested that the first element **medes* may signify turbulent water, or whirlpool, the second element *wæl* being a North country term for pool or whirlpool, the combination creating a tautologous place-name. This spring is referred to by Hugh Candidus, a twelfth-century monk of Peterborough, as being located in the middle of the river Nene (Mellows 1949, 5 – 6). On the site of the present cathedral excavation in the nineteenth century revealed at least nine fourth-century coins, pottery, burnt clay and wedge-shaped tiles, leading to the assumption that there had been a kiln on this site (HER 80229). When the central tower was restored, further finds were made of bricks, sculptures and stones with a Roman inscription with traces of red paint still visible. The clerk of the works, JT Irvine, believed this inscription came from a temple at Castor or *Durobrivæ*. The sculpture was a fragment of stone decorated with a fine oak leaf carving, which Irvine believed to have come from the lower part of a column (information by email from Peterborough Historic Environment Record Office 24.8.2010, from the Irvine Papers held in the cathedral archive). It may be that, as on other sites locally, the Anglo-Saxons chose a site already seen as significant in Roman times, with a gushing spring, on which to found a monastery with a large endowment, rich enough two hundred years later to attract the Danes in search of plunder (NMR_NATINV-364129, NMR_NATINV-364043). The cathedral was rebuilt in the years after 960 (Kelly 2009, 44) and again the *Chronicle* records its endowments by King Edgar, also recording the establishment of the soke of Peterborough (as it became known), free of lay authority, expanding with the usual formula the rights of the abbey which had been outlined in the 656 entry

Ðas land 7 ealla þa oðre lin into þe mynstre þa cwede ic scyr þ[æt is] saca 7 socne. toll 7 team 7 infangenenþef (ASC [E] *sub anno* 963).

Freedom from outside control was an important matter at this time (Kelly 2009, 12, 61 – 5).

The soke endured through the centuries, becoming a separate administrative county in 1888 and lasting until 1965 (www.peterborough.gov.uk). The soke coincides territorially with the double hundred of *Nassaborough,* known earlier as *Uptune,* described as lying in the *ness* of *Medeshamstead.* The term *ness* indicates the promontory of land which extends into the fens between the Welland and the Nene, and is clearly shown on the hundred map (qv). Funthams was not in Nassaborough hundred, so not in the soke but just in Cambridgeshire. After the monastery was rebuilt, the place became known as *Burg* or *Burgh,* though the name *Medeshamstead* continued to be used, and then gradually the dedication to St Peter took precedence and the name Peterborough emerged as dominant (Gover et al 1933, 223 – 4 and map).

Funthams appears to lie in a boundary area of several types and descriptions. To the west, upstream on the Nene, the landscape becomes more rolling, though far from hilly, on either side of the river; to the east lie the fens, here peat with gravel islands. The first gravel island to the east is Whittlesey island, and Funthams is on the western edge of this island, thus at the entry to the change in soil type and where there is a marked boundary in the drift geology (Hall 1987; British Geological Survey Ten Mile Map South Sheet 1977). Funthams may have been the most easterly of the springs, perhaps a special place just as the site of the cathedral was special (Appendix 1, 351). There is evidence that the Nene, whose course has varied through time according to the vagaries of climate, drainage and human activity, was a tribal boundary in pre-Roman times (ibid, 346). In the Roman period the economy to the west was based on villas and estates, and gradually to the east of these a less prestigious lifestyle is indicated, for example at Orton Hall Farm, and the working settlements on Whittlesey island (ibid, 350). There is no obvious break in activity in the local area between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods (ibid, 351 - 2), but the Nene seems to have been a dialect boundary in the development of Old English (ibid, 352). The bounds of the land granted to the cathedral are unclear, and it was probably difficult to describe them in this medieval landscape of mere and fen, where notable territorial markers would have been largely absent, but the bounds of the soke and double hundred appear to be replicated in the modern county boundary.

At the moment it is difficult to single out any particular reason for the continued use in this area of a Latin word, *fontāna,* taken into Old English as **funta,* where no other pre-English names have survived. The tenacity of the name Funthams, now given to a business park, a lane and a dyke, and occasionally attracting an apostrophe before the final *–s*, is interesting.

Area 10 East Warwickshire, Chadshunt.

Details of this site are to be found in Appendix 1, 355 - 62.

Pre-English names in this area are as follows:

Alne, river-name (not shown on map)
Gover et al 1936, 1; Ekwall 1960, 7; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 364; Watts 2004, 10.
S94 AD716x737 (11c) *Æluuinæ fluvium*
S1599 AD(12c) *Alne stream*
1221 etc *Alne*
IE *el-,* to flow >*al-*
Coates describes this name as root-Brittonic.
**Alauna,* an Old European river-name.

Anker, river-name (not shown on map)
Gover et al 1936, 1; Ekwall 1960, 10; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 364; Watts 2004, 14.
c1000 – 1577 *Oncer*
1295 etc *Auncre*
1332 etc *Ancre*
An unexplained pre-English, perhaps Celtic, river-name, possibly related to an IE root **ank-*, "bend".

Arden, Warks district name
Gover et al 1936, 11 - 12; Ekwall 1960, 12; Gelling 1974, 74; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Watts 2004, 17.
1088 (c1200) *Eardene*
12c *foresta de Ardene*
1166 *Ardene*
1174 *Erderna*
1189 – 1394 *Arderna*
pre-Celtic **árdvos* > British **ardu-,* "high", cognate with Latin *arduus,* + suffix *–enno* which may be pre-Brittonic.
Later spellings with *–r-* in the second element suggest an alternative derivation from OE **eard* + *ærn,* "a dwelling-house", but Gelling disputes this on topological grounds.

Arrow, river-name (not shown on map)
Gover et al 1936, 1; Ekwall 1960, 13; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 365; Watts 2004, 19.
(11c) *Arwan stream*
13c *Ar (e)we*
IE root **er-, *or-* > **Arva* cf Latin *orior,* "to rise", so probably "swift".
Ancient river-name, identical with Arve, Avre, Eure, Auve, Erve in France and Arvo in Italy.

Avon, river-name
Gover et al 1936, 2; Ekwall 1960, 19 – 20; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 360; Watts 2004, 28.
S64 AD699x709 (11c) *afen*
S118 AD780 (11c) *afene* etc
Brittonic **abona* > PrW *aβon,* river.
This is a lexical word taken as a river-name by later people. There are many examples in England and through Europe.

Brailes, Warks, SP 305398
Gover et al 1936, 276 - 7; Ekwall 1960, 59; Gelling 1974, 74; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Watts 2004, 78.
DB etc *Brailes, -ay-*
1224 – 1319 *Breyles*
PrW **brez* > **brey* > *bre*, "hill" + *lïss*, "hall, court".

Chadshunt, Warks, SP 351532
Gover et al 1936, 249 – 50; Ekwall 1960, 94; Gelling 1978, 84 – 6; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 123; Appendix 1, 355.
S 544 AD 949 (12c) *æt cædeles funtan*
S 1000 AD 1043 (15c) *Chadeleshunt*
S 1226 AD c1043 (15c) *Chaddeleshunt*
DB *Cedeleshunt*
1195 – 1242 *Chadelesfunz, -t*
1689 *Chadshunt*
OE pers name **ceadel*, gen sing *–es,* + **funta.*

Coundon, Warks, SP 310820
Gover et al 1936, 159 – 60; Ekwall 1960, 125; Gelling 1974, 75; Gelling and Cole 2000, 3; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Watts 2004, 161 (river-name).
DB *Condelme*
1172 *Cundelma*
1257 *Cundulme*
The first element is identical with that of Cound Brook (Salop), from a Brittonic name, perhaps male pers n, *cönēd,* from a root meaning "hound" > OE *Cuned* + *æwylm, æwielm*, "source of a river".
Coundon is near the source of the Sherborne, which may previously have been called Cound.
The same base is in rivers Kennet and Kent.

Crick, Northants, SP 580720
Gover et al 1936, 68; Ekwall 1960, 130; Coates and Breeze 2000, 322; Watts 2004, 168.
DB *crec*
1201 *Kreic*
Old Welsh *creig*, Brittonic *crūc,* "a rock".

Crouch Hill, Oxon, SP 435390
Gelling 1953 – 4, 413; Gelling and Cole 2000, 163; Coates and Breeze 2000, 325.
1268 *Cruche*
crüg, "mound or hillock".

Cole, river-name (not shown on map)
Gover et al 1936, 2; Ekwall 1960, 116; Gelling 1974, 75; Watts 2004, 149 – 50.
S 1272 AD 849 (10c) *in, on, of Colle* etc.
C1460 – 1603 *Cole broke*
PrW **coll*, "hazel tree" cf Latin *corylus.*

Dassett, Avon and **Burton,** Warks SP 410500, SP 398515
Gover et al 1936, 267 - 8; Ekwall 1960, 139; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 337; Gelling and Cole 2000, 224; Watts 2004, 180.
DB *Derceto*
1173 – 1214 *–chet*
1233, 1241 *–cet*
PrW **der,* "oak tree" + **cēd* "wood"
"Oak-tree wood". Avon Dassett lies on the edge of the wolds.
An alternative suggestion is a derivation from OE *dēor* + *cēte*, "deer-shelter".
Designated by Avon, river-name, and Burton < OE *burh,* dat sing *byrig* + *tūn.*

Exhall, Warks, near Coventry SP 340850
Gover et al 1936, 107 - 8; Ekwall 1960, 171; Gelling 1974, 62, 75; Gelling and Cole 2000, 130.
(see next entry)

Exhall, Warks, near Stratford SP 120560
Gover et al 1936, 208; Ekwall 1960, 171; Gelling 1974, 62, 75 – 6; Gelling and Cole 2000, 130; Watts 2004, 221.
S 81 AD 710 (12c) *Eccleshale*
DB *Ecleshelle*
1194 – 1316 *Ec(c)leshale*
VL *eclēsia* > PrW *eglēs* + OE *hale,* dat sing of *halh*
"A hollow or nook of land where there is a Celtic Christian site", noted by the Anglo-Saxons.
Gelling (1974, 75 – 6) suggests that the name may indicate an area of British Christianity which lay outside early Anglo-Saxon administrative arrangements.

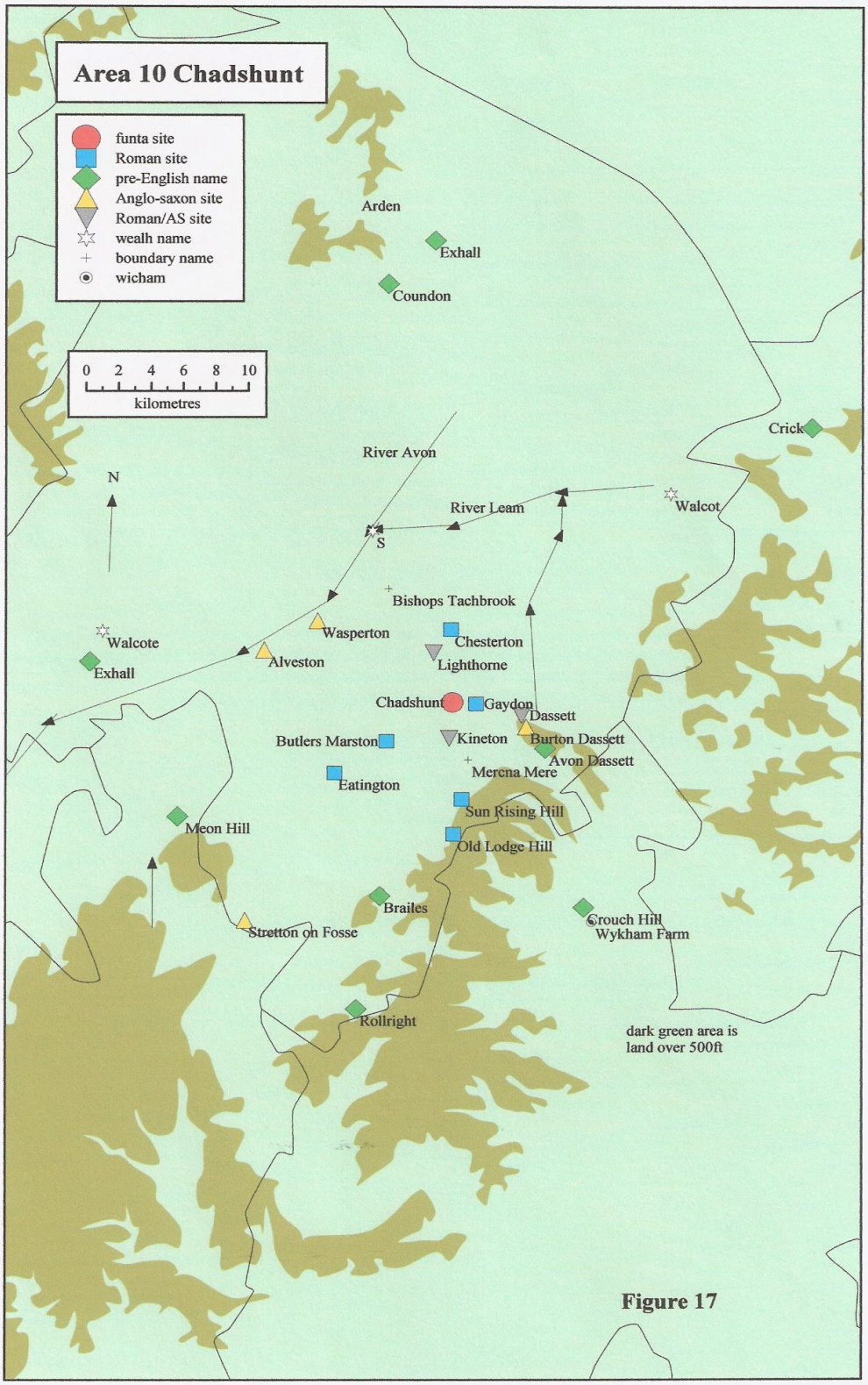
Humber, river-name (not shown on map)
Ekwall 1960, 256 (river-name in general); Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Watts 2004, 322 (river-name in general).
A common river-name, with 11 examples in England.
Probably an ancient, pre-Celtic name with a meaning such as "good river".

Itchen, river-name
Gover et al 1936, 3; Ekwall 1960, 267; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Watts 2004, 334.
S 892 AD 998 *on Ycenan, Ycœnan*
S 898 AD 1001 *Ichene, Huchene*
Of uncertain derivation, perhaps Ancient pre-Celtic, or perhaps from a Celtic root **iak-, *ik,* "healthy".
Identical with the river Itchen, Hants, and with Aigues/Eygues (*Icarus*), tributary of the Rhône, and Yonne (*Icauna*).

Leam, river-name
Gover et al 1936, 4; Ekwall 1960, 292; Gelling 1974, 75; Watts 2004, 365.
S 623 AD 956 (11c) *on Limenan*
S 967 AD 1033 (c1200) *on leomene, leomenan, of leomanan*
1232 – 85 *Lemine, -ene*
1411 *Leeme*
1576 *Leame*
British **Lemanā, Lemonā, Lemenā* > PrW *Liμan, Liμon* > OE *Leomene*
The root British **lem* is cognate with Latin *ulmus*, "elm"
"Elm-tree river".
The same root occurs in river-names such as Lympne in England, Limagne, France, Lac Leman, Lake of Geneva, Switzerland.

Meon Hill, Gloucs but now Warks, SP 176453
Smith, A 1964 – 5, ii, 254; Ekwall 1960, 322; Gelling 1974, 60 fig 1; Coates and Breeze 2000, 338; Watts 2004, 408.
1086 – 1405 *Mene, -a*
1158 – 15c *Muna, -e, Mona*
1221 etc *Meone*
An ancient name of uncertain derivation, perhaps from IE **mew-* " wet, slime" + suffix *–n* > **meun* > OE **meon.*
But cf OIr *moín*, "treasure".
Identical to river Meon, Hants.

Rollright, Oxon, SP 290320
Gelling 1953 – 4, 371 - 2; Ekwall 1960, 391; Coates and Breeze 2000, 199 – 212, 325; Watts 2004, 506.
DB *Rollendri, Rollandri*
Spellings from 1086 to 14c have variously –e-, -i-, -au-, -a- in the middle syllable (Coates 199 – 200).
Coates presents a suggested complex derivation from Brittonic **Rodland rïch,* in which the root etymon is British **landā,* "an enclosed site" + prefix **rod* < **roto* "wheel", referring to the prehistoric circle of stones here, + an element related to Welsh *rhych* "a groove", referring to a small gorge nearby. This would give Brittonic **rodlānd rïχ,* becoming by the seventh century *Rodlendrïch* > OE *Rollandrih.* The necessary phonological changes are mapped and explained (Coates and Breeze 2000, 209 – 10).


Area 10 Chadshunt
funta site
Roman site
pre-English name
Anglo-saxon site
Roman/AS site
wealh name
boundary name
wicham
0 2 4 6 8 10
kilometres
N
Arden
Exhall
Coundon
Crick
River Avon
River Leam
Walcot
S
Bishops Tachbrook
Wasperton
Chesterton
Walcote
Alveston
Lighthorne
Exhall
Chadshunt
Gaydon
Dassett
Butlers Marston
Kineton
Burton Dassett
Avon Dassett
Mercna Mere
Eatington
Sun Rising Hill
Meon Hill
Old Lodge Hill
Brailes
Crouch Hill
Wykham Farm
Stretton on Fosse
Rollright
dark green area is
land over 500ft
Figure 17

Sowe, river-name (not shown on map)
Gover et al 1936, 5; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Watts 2004, 563.
13c *Souwe*
IE **soyo-* "wet, flow"
An old European name, cf Sare, Sèvre in France, Savone in Italy, etc.
Some spellings for Walsgrave-on-Sowe SP 3881 indicate OE **sōh, sōg* " swamp or bog", but possibly from the same IE root and possibly a folk-etymology.

Tame, river-name (not shown on map)
Gover et al 1936, 6; Ekwall 1960, 459; Gelling 1974, 75; Coates and Breeze 2000, 366; Watts 2004, 599.
A pre-Celtic Old European river-name on the IE root **tā, *tə* "to flow", which with suffixes *–m, -n, -u* gives many river-names such as Thames, Tone and Taw.

Walcote, Warks, near Alcester SP 128581
Gover et al 1936, 212; Gelling 1974, 75; Watts 2004, 644.
1235 *Walecote*
1445 *Walcote*
"cottages of the British or Welsh men".

Walcot, Warks, near Grandborough, now lost SP 490675
Gover et al 1936, 130 - 1; Ekwall 1960, 491; Gelling 1974, 75.
DB *Walecote*
1236 *Walcot*
"cottages of the British or Welsh men".

Wykham Farm, Mill, Park, Oxon, SP 440380
Gelling 1953 – 4, 413.
DB *wicham.*

Discussion.

The area around Chadshunt was witness to a great deal of activity during the Roman period, but at the moment there is virtually no evidence which dates any such activity securely to the late fourth or early fifth century. Finds of Roman material have been made throughout the locality, including at the site of the deserted medieval village at Chadshunt itself (NMR). In several places there is evidence of substantial Roman buildings, which may be of a type to be classed as villas with accompanying estates, but so far only one of these sites has undergone excavation, the others being located by surface finds, field-walking and aerial photography. At the excavated site, at Chesterton some 5km north of Chadshunt, building materials, mosaics and coin were found, the mosaics partly destroyed by later hearths, pits and a kiln. Such destruction indicates a transition in use due to social and economic change, perhaps in the fourth century, after an earlier, more prestigious, heyday. The original villa was of corridor type,

probably with later extensions, and the only dating evidence suggested by the excavators was that a mosaic in a corridor may have been of fourth-century construction (WARWSMR-782). Sites where surface evidence indicates substantial buildings, possible villas, are at Gaydon, 1.5km east of Chadshunt, where the suggested dating is to the mid-late second to fourth century, two sites at Kineton, (2.2km south, third-fourth century, and 3.5km south-east, throughout the Roman period), at Butlers Marston (5km south-west, building materials and pottery second to fourth century), at Lighthorne (3.5km north-west, third to fourth century but "intense" in the fourth) and on Old Lodge Hill (9km south, pottery and walls only) (NMR). Thus it is impossible to say with any degree of confidence that a certain level of activity continued into the fifth century, but common sense suggests that agriculture would not have stopped in this area of well-watered, fertile land, though the way of life of the people living here may well have become less ostentatious (Appendix 1, 357). Further away in the town of Alcester, some 25km to the north-west, some structures and burials may date to the early fifth century, but there is no concrete evidence for this suggestion (ibid, 357).

To the west, in Gloucestershire for example, a villa economy was thriving into the fifth century. The pre-English place-names in the Chadshunt area support the theory of a continuing British population to the west and south-west. Pre-English river-names increase in frequency east to west across the country (Jackson 1953, 220 – 2) and it is notable that many of the rivers in the southern part of Warwickshire have pre-English names. It is also suggested that Coundon, some 25km to the north in the county, may retain a pre-English name now replaced by a common English river-name. The two instances of the name Exhall indicate Celtic Christian sites, whose significance was acknowledged by the Anglo-Saxons and which may have been respected as independent in their administration (Gelling 1974, 76). The two instances of the name Walcot(e) also indicate places where there were pre-English inhabitants. The main feature of the area is the mingling of evidence from Roman and Saxon times with some pre-English place-names, an example being at Burton Dassett where an OE name combined with a Celtic name continues to be used for a site where Roman and Saxon remains lie close together (see below). There is no clear division between pre-English and early English presence, and the significance of the **funta* at Chadshunt may relate to later boundaries (see below).

Paradoxically, it is from the cemeteries usually classed as early Anglo-Saxon that evidence of British survival is to be gained. At Stretton-on-Fosse 22km to the south-west a late Romano-British cemetery continued in use possibly into the early sixth century, and on an adjacent site is an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery where certain aspects of British burial practice appear to have been adapted into the Anglo-Saxon burial custom. The grave furnishings here demonstrate an initial link with East Anglia, and later links with Wessex. At Alveston 25km to the north-west there is a mixed-rite cemetery dating from the early Anglo-Saxon period, again showing links, from evidence provided by brooch types, with East Anglia and later with the Wessex and Upper Thames Valley areas. It is suggested that the arrival of such cultural influence began around AD 480.

At Wasperton, at 10km to the north-west the closest of these Avon valley cemeteries to Chadshunt, there is likewise evidence of early Anglo-Saxon use of a Romano-British site. The cemetery here appears to have begun in the fourth century, started by a community producing wheat and baking bread, using a local redundant earthwork as a burial ground. The excavators suggest that, based on stratification and alignment, a group of unfurnished graves may date to the fifth century, always a difficult assessment. In the late fifth century Anglo-Saxon objects begin to appear in furnished inhumations, together with SW – NE orientation and unurned cremations. The cemetery continued in use until the first half of the seventh century.

The evidence from the Wasperton cemetery suggests a possible scenario of a local group of Romano-British people joined in the fifth century by newcomers with a different burial practice, who had contact to the east, and during the sixth century made contact with the south which became more important. These features are also seen at Stretton-on-Fosse and Alveston, further from Chadshunt. At Wasperton there appears to have been people of high status, as four great square-headed brooches were found, but no settlement was found in the surrounding 10 hectares (Carver 2009, esp 48 – 51, 122 – 3, 132 – 40).

What may be said, however, is that to the west of Chadshunt there appears to have been a non-military assimilation of late Romano-British and Early Anglo-Saxon cultures, and perhaps also of people.

Further signs of interaction between cultures and Germanic interaction with native Britons are to be found closer to Chadshunt, though here close dating is unclear. At Lighthorne some 3km to the north, two inhumations were found 300m from the present church, with amber beads, brooches and hanging bowl escutcheons (Appendix 1, 357 - 8), and this only some 500m to the south-west of the site where there are strong indications of a Roman villa (above). At Burton Dassett, 4km to the south-east, an Anglo-Saxon cemetery with 35 inhumations, with goods and a seax, was discovered in 1908, where later the monitoring of a water main renewal revealed evidence of a Roman settlement dating to the second to fourth centuries within 1km of the cemetery (EHNMR-1267018). Thus there are strong suggestions in the area to the north, west and south of Chadshunt that an immigrant population may have settled, living in harmony with the indigenous sub-Roman people and even occupying the same sites, or that the indigenous population adopted newly-learnt cultural behaviour. If there were indeed new people at Burton Dassett, they were content to continue to use the existing name.

The question of later boundaries is explored (Appendix 1, 361 - 2), and the evidence appears to place Chadshunt in Mercia, close to its border with the territory of the Hwicce. This would be consistent with the use of the element **funta* rather than British *font.* The development of the word **funta* from *fontāna* may date to the sixth century (Jackson 1953, 680), so it is appropriate to examine the evidence for the earlier history of the initial formation of the kingdom of Mercia and the English settlement in the area under question. The Tribal Hidage, usually believed to date to the later seventh century, refers in its first entry to what appears to be the original territory of the kingdom

þær mon ærest Myrcna het

This "original Mercia" has been tentatively located, its south-western part including the northern part of modern Warwickshire (Brooks 1989, 160 – 1). If the Avon may be taken as a dividing line, then Chadshunt lies outside original Mercia, though later it obviously lay in a greater Mercia. The Tribal Hidage indicates that at the time of its compilation, Mercia had already expanded and was no longer coterminous with "original Mercia", so if by then it included southern Warwickshire, then Chadshunt lay, by the later seventh century, within Mercia, but before this, outside Mercia. The **funta* may well then lie on a border which became redundant following an expansion earlier in the seventh century, or even in the sixth. The royal line of the kingdom may go back to the sixth century, though opinion is divided as to the dating of the beginning of the kingdom, which may have been formed by Germanic immigration from the east via the Trent valley. The name Mercia indicates that its origins were perceived to be as a border, between British and Anglo-Saxon territory (Brooks 1989, 162 – 3). Cemetery evidence reinforces the notion of a border, as the excavators at Wasperton suggest that the cemetery was "at the extreme western extent of the advance" (ie of Germanic people) "lying in a frontier zone into which ideas but not necessarily people flowed" (Wise 1991, 258). It would also appear that the Birmingham region was a border area, and indeed there are far more pre-English place-names in Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and Staffordshire than in Warwickshire, as if Warwickshire were indeed the area of furthest penetration of Germanic influence at an early period (Gelling 1974, 60, Fig 1, 61; Coates and Breeze 2000, 378, 387, 390, 391). Natural landscape features do not seem to have been used as territorial boundaries in this part of the country, and the name Mercia indicates a territory rather than a border. The modern preoccupation with delineated borders must be set aside. The names Martinmow and Tachbrook (see map) also indicate a border of some sort, which may have been ephemeral, and penetration beyond the original agreed boundary was allowed, which is why the mingling of cultures is so clearly marked.

The existence of a border in this locality is indicated by many factors, one of which may be the presence, to this day, of the place-name element **funta*. The holy well at Chadshunt was an important pilgrimage site in later times, which may have preserved its name though its perceived importance altered.

Conclusion to Chapter 3.

In this chapter all 21 **funta* sites have been examined for nearby evidence of both a continuing British presence, as shown by pre-English place-names, and also of an early Anglo-Saxon presence, as shown by cemetery or settlement excavation. Any other evidence of estates or boundaries in the later Anglo-Saxon period has also been considered.

The four areas selected for investigation in the first part of this chapter were chosen because they each have several **funta* sites, as opposed to the other areas which have a single**funta* site and which were considered in the second part. In the introduction to this chapter it was noted that where **funta* sites are close, they may have a relationship to each other, and all sites may be situated in places where there are also a number of other pre-English names. Such names may contain elements which derive from Latin, Brittonic (Primitive Welsh) or from an ancient source, and nearby place-names deriving from *wīchām,* or containing *wealh*, are important.

In Area 1, Wiltshire, the three sites Urchfont, Teffont and Fovant lie on the edge of what is known of Saxon penetration to the west prior to the seventh century. Urchfont is in an area with a significant number of pre-English names, and near Market Lavington which appears to have been a frontier settlement. To the south of Salisbury Plain, Teffont and Fovant lie on either side of the river Nadder, and beyond this point is no Saxon evidence before the later seventh century. No pre-English names are known very near to these two places to the east, and the element **funta* does not occur further west .

In Area 3, east of Southampton and into West Sussex, the four sites of Funtley, Boarhunt, Havant and Funtington lie well to the south of the places where an early Saxon presence is known, in the Meon valley and in the Winchester area, where there is settlement and cemetery evidence from the fifth century. Pre-English names are few except for the number of names known to contain the Latin element *ōra,* "(sea)shore", and, in addition, the large number suspected to contain this element. The **funta* sites lie along the northern zone of the *ōra* concentration, again suggesting a separation of the Saxon from the British areas, but no real connection between the sites themselves emerges.

In Area 4, East Sussex, the **funta* sites are not so geographically close and no connection is obvious. Each site has to be considered separately.

In Area 11, to the north and west of London, the ring of **funta* sites surrounds an area of what was Middlesex, where, as far as is currently known, there was no Saxon presence during the fifth and sixth centuries, and none beyond until the late sixth century. There are no known pre-English names within this area to the north and west of London, but such names appear scattered beyond the **funta* sites on the side away from London, and it is noteworthy that of the four sites, Bedfont and Cheshunt have pre-English names nearby (Ashford, Datchet and Brickendon), Bedmond is close to St Albans which retained its Latin name of *Verulamium*, in some form, until the eighth century. The fourth site,

Chalfont, does not fit this pattern. The fact that these sites relate to London may be misleading to modern eyes.

The grouping of some sites appears to be more apparent than real. Each site must be considered individually, with evidence from its own locality assessed separately.

The evidence which has been amassed in Chapter 3 will now be analysed and discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4.

Analysis and Discussion.

The purpose of this chapter is to bring order to, and make sense of, the information in Chapter 3, setting this against the historical and linguistic background outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 and making reference to the Gazetteer of sites (Appendix 1) where necessary. The question which must be asked is: what was a **funta?* What was the nature and significance of a place which was perceived as different in some way from anywhere else (and therefore needed a new name)? This name was coined at the linguistic interface of indigenous British people who spoke a Celtic language with some Latin additions, as outlined in Chapter 2, with other people who spoke a Germanic language. It must be that the dominant language at a **funta* site originally included at least a little British Latin, changing over time to Old English as everywhere else in the country. Together these languages embraced Late Latin *fontāna,* used it, developed and changed it until it became **funta*. The only clue so far is that water is somehow implicated. So a **funta* was a watery place selected to serve a particular purpose. This is obvious so far.

All the 21 sites have been visited recently, and there is nothing to be seen on the ground which suggests anything in common apart from the name, and even that has to be seen from early forms to reveal the common element **funta.* As shown in Table 4.5, some sites now are rural, some urban, some even virtually non-existent and inaccessible. At some it is impossible to identify where the watery place might have been 1500 years ago, so the name is taken on trust and an arbitrary decision has had to be made as to where the **funta* might have been, in order that measurements may be taken to see how far away other places were. In gazetteer of sites (Appendix 1), there is at least one modern photograph of each place, which give life and interest to what could be a dull study, and fortunately the 21 sites are all within reasonable reach of each other, which is another clue about when and why they were named. Figure 1 shows the location of all the **funta* sites.

The question as to what a **funta* was does not refer to the word itself, though this is in some ways diagnostic, but what it was that constituted the features of a place which was accepted by both naming parties as a **funta*. To answer this question it has been necessary to find evidence of each site, after 1500 years, in order to identify these features. This was done initially in the Gazetteer, then, in Chapter 3, this material was added to the incidence of pre-English names within a certain distance of each site. Analysis means breaking down into identifiable component parts, , and in this chapter the material from Chapter 3 will be analysed and organised into identified categories. A further and more revealing process is that of deconstruction of the relationships between these categories or component parts to see how they work together and function as a whole, thus creating the entity.

This is a tall order, especially at a distance of a millennium and a half. The methodology must fit the question, so the methodology will be,

first to identify the categories of evidence. In considering which features in an area around a **funta* site may be relevant to a discussion, it is appropriate to assess the situation in that part of Britain, where the **funta* sites are to be found, during the fifth and sixth centuries, as set out in Chapter 1. In this period of cultural and linguistic transition, evidence of both British and Germanic material and language will help to understand what was happening. Not all signs of new culture are signs of new people, and developments took place in different places at different times. A judgment must be made as to what is actually appropriate to examine, or what the obvious component parts are. The following features are selected as categories for examination and comparison:

- the composition of the names and what this might mean
- evidence of Roman structures and landscape features surviving into the fifth century, to see what the situation was like in the vicinity
- evidence of the presence during the fifth and sixth centuries of people of a Germanic culture, who may have been immigrant
- pre-English place-names which survive locally, or are still known, and local names in *wīchām*
- any indication that a site lay at a boundary or in a liminal area
- the development of any site as a place of political or other importance.

Then these classes of evidence must be compared, to see if any is more numerous than any other, if anything is predominant and if common features can be identified, and if there are ways in which the component parts were inter-related. Any features identifiable in later medieval time or in the present will be sought, not just because this is interesting, but also because further understandings may be suggested. There are many ways in which the evidence might be analysed. Various categories could be established and many correlations could be made, but many of these would be tedious, time-consuming and of little value in attempting to answer the research questions set out in Chapter 1.

Certain problems present themselves. In the Gazetteer (Appendix 1) and in Chapter 3 the sites were taken individually, the information set out with careful references, but here they are analysed and grouped in different ways according to common features, in order to give an overview. Such analyses are often clearer when set out in tabular form, so tables are used with accompanying discussion. Next, there is the problem of choosing limits for dates and distances. Arbitrary limits on date and distance have had to be set, but may be constraining. What period of time should be envisaged for a **funta* to be chosen and named, according to whatever its significance and use was deemed to be? It cannot have happened before the fifth century, because of language change, as described in Chapter 2, and presumably such a site would have become established in 200 years, so the limits of late fifth-century and early seventh century have been set, which agree with the probable phonological changes taking place. It is more difficult to find a rationale for selecting a distance from a **funta* site in order to group sites. The distance between *mutationes* on Roman roads is usually about 10 miles, but **funta* sites are not equidistant from Roman roads, or even tracks. At what distance from a site would evidence lose its significance? When defining an area around a site, words like “near” or

"local" are imprecise, but an arbitrary limit may exclude valuable information. A distance of 5km (3.1 miles) could have been covered easily on foot, so reasonably close; 10km (6.2 miles) is still within possible reach, so these two distances have been chosen. However, these set figures do not exclude other distances being considered, and where this is so, an explanation is given. Topography is important when travelling on foot: rivers and high ground are obstacles. It is quite easy to start out by being scientific and objective, but there are a number of imponderables which beg to be considered, and the objective study starts to include subjective evaluations which are intended to bring life to an evaluation but may be perceived as irrelevant. This is where the discussion can make details and reflections relevant. Interpretation and an open mind may in this case prove more valuable than figures, but since a modern analysis needs a modern framework, the distances of 5 and 10 km serve as benchmarks. It is suggested that whatever distances were selected, the relationship between parcels of territory would remain the same.

Some evidence may be invisible, but still important. A site which is of religious significance today may have been so from prehistoric times: this may be deduced but invisible, sometimes impossible to prove, yet such evidence must be taken into account and a decision made as to whether it is important or just an intuitive factor. Some places, and some names, have moved, springs are no longer visible, so where a decision has been made, it must be stated.

It cannot be assumed that all signs of a Germanic culture are equally signs of Germanic immigrant people. It is known that the indigenous British culture was not the same as Imperial or Roman urban culture, though in some places certain features were shared with continental sites. Modern methods of archaeological investigation or scientific analyses may provide more accurate means of differentiating evidence.

The analysis will be as objective as possible, without ignoring other known facts which do not fit into such analysis or tabulation. This methodology should find some answers to the question: what was a **funta* and what was it like? By examining, listing, tabulating and correlating the categories of evidence set out above, perhaps some answers may emerge with which to answer such questions.

funta names grouped according to qualifiers or other generics.

The names themselves may be classified into groups. The first group includes16 names (76.1%), in which **funta* is the generic and the second includes 5 names (23.8%), in which **funta* is the qualifier. Where **funta* is the generic, the qualifiers may then be grouped. In names where **funta* is the generic, the most common qualifiers are those which develop from obliques of personal names. There are 7 names (33.3%) in this group, which are:

Chadshunt (Warwicks)
Fovant (Wilts)
Havant (Hants)
Pitchfont (Surrey)
Tolleshunt (Essex)
Urchfont (Wilts)
Wansunt (Kent).

Some of these personal names have been assumed by place-name experts. The name Chad in Chadshunt is well-known; the earliest form of the name, *ceadelesfuntan* (S 544 AD 949, 13c), shows a derivation from the diminutive form *ceadel.* The holy well here was dedicated to St Chad, first bishop of Lichfield, though the dedication of the church, now redundant, was to All Saints (Warks SMR 753). Comparison should not be made with the name of Chadwell, Essex, in which the first element derives from OE *ceald*, "cold" (Watts 2004, 123). **Fobba* is an assumed name in Fovant. The name's first known occurrence is the form *Fobbanfuntanboc*, (S364 AD 901, 14c) in which *Fobban* would be the genitive of the name. A similar formation is seen in Havant, the genitive *haman* appearing in S 430 AD 935 (12c), as *æt hamanfuntan* in the *hamanfuntan landboc.* Pitchfont is assumed to take its name from a personal name **Picca* (Gelling and Cole 2000, 18), and Pitchers Wood is nearby. A possible derivation from a word for pitch is rejected by the farmer here, as there is no local evidence to support it (pers com). Tolleshunt is adjacent to Tollesbury (Watts 2004, 621) and a personal name **Toll* is assumed, which would give a genitive in –es. Near Urchfont, *Ierchesfonte* in 1086, no other name is known which may contain the assumed personal name **Eohrīċ* (Watts 2004, 639). Wansunt is still more problematic, its first known occurrence in 1270 being (*de) Wantesfonte* (Wallenberg 1934, 14) containing an assumed name **Want.*

The next most common qualifiers are those which denote a feature of visible significance:

Bedfont (Middx)
Bedfordwell (East Sussex)
Bedmond (Herts)
Chalfont (Bucks)
Cheshunt (Herts) (5 names, 23.8%).

It will be noticed that Cheshunt is included in this group. In many instances, the element *ceaster* indicates a walled place of some importance, a seat of authority in Roman times which the early Anglo-Saxons took over, such as Winchester or Colchester. The qualifying element is from Latin *castra* or *castrum,* usually used in early Old English place-names for a site with Roman walls. This use of the word was formerly believed to be insular (Jackson 1953, 252) but now is known to have been in use in North West Germanic before the Anglo-Saxons came to Britain (Appendix 2, 148 - 9). The first known record of the name of Cheshunt is *Cestrehunt(e)* 1086, and though there is nothing to indicate that Cheshunt had been a site of authority, the fact

that *ceaster* is the qualifying element shows that there was something visible here. In Chalfont the qualifying element, from *cealcing*, which refers to the underlying chalk, may indicate an early formation, since it was a form used in north west Germany in place-names. The qualifying element *bed-* in the other three names derives from OE *byden* "water vessel for drinking, hollow in the ground", of which the second is preferred here. A compound appellative **byden-funta* may have been formed. The change –y- to –e- was a Kentish development which spread to neighbouring areas such as East Sussex and Middlesex where these three names occur (Rumble 1989; Wollmann 1993, 23 for dating to first half of the sixth century).

Some qualifiers relate to sites where human use was important:

Boarhunt (Hants)
Bonhunt (Essex)
Mottisfont (Hants)
Teffont (Wilts) (4 names, 19%).

Boarhunt, (*æt byhrfunt'* S 1821 10c) appears to have been some sort of fortified place according to its first element, *byrig.* No evidence of any important Iron Age site or fortification is known here, but the church of St Nicholas is close to the **funta* and there is evidence of a deserted medieval village (NMR). The farm at the **funta* is Manor Farm. Bonhunt (1086 *banhunta*) also appears to have been a site of some significance, perhaps of ritual activity or of authority, if the large numbers and composition of the animal bones found here are taken into account, and was the centre of an estate which survived into the nineteenth century. Manor Farm is at Bonhunt Springs and the chapel of St Helen at the farm is still used for service annually on St Helen's day, August 18th. The first element of Mottisfont (1086 *Morteshunte, Mortelfunte*), which may be from *motere* "speaker", indicates that this site later became a place of assembly, where a speaker might address a gathering, but Gelling prefers a derivation from *mōt*, a meeting, of people not of water (pers com 12.8.2005), and so perhaps a place of assembly. Teffont (S 326 AD 860 *be tefunte*, S 730 AD 964 *æt teofunten*) was named by people who wanted to mark a boundary here.

Then there are the sites where **funta* itself is the qualifying element:

Fontridge (East Sussex)
Founthill (East Sussex)
Funthams (Cambs)
Funtington (West Sussex)
Funtley (Hants) (5 names, 23.8%).

Three of these names have a landscape term as generic. No **funta* name survives to the present as a simplex, but Founthill was (*atte) Funte* in 1296, the OE element *hyll* often a late addition (Gelling and Cole 2000, 192). Fontridge was *Fonteregg',* 1248, (Mawer and Stenton 1930, 462), the OE element *hryg* often combined with elements relating to topography or structures (Gelling and Cole 2000, 191). Funtley was *funtelei* in 1086, the element *leah* "wood, woodland clearing > pasture" used roughly between AD 750 – 950 (Gelling and Cole 2000, 237 – 242). Of the remaining two names, Funtington (1252 *Fundentone)* (Mawer and Stenton 1929, 60) is difficult to analyse but begs to be included, on grounds other than linguistic. The element *–ing* is difficult to categorise in place-names (Smith 1956, 282 - 303): it may intrude or disappear, or be used as a filler (ibid at 283, also Watts 2004, 244). An example is Huntbourne (Ha) which was briefly during the mid-14th century *Huntyngbourn –e,* apparently written in this way by scribal whim (Hants Record Office Winchester College Manor Court Papers ref M 1021 and M 1028, dated 1362 and 1368). The final element in Funtington may be from an oblique of **funta*, with an

interpolated *–ing-*, or may be OE *–tūn,* in which case it would be the only habitative element to be combined with **funta.* Without the evidence of early forms it is impossible to be exact. Gelling suggests that **funting* may signify a place of springs, + OE *-tūn* (Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; pers com 12.11.2005; also referring to Dodgson 1978, 54). The use of *–tūn* may indicate an important place.

Funthams was apparently originally a simplex (Gelling and Cole 2000, 18) recorded as *Funtune* in the thirteenth century (qv chapter 3), perhaps an oblique **funtan.* There is no evidence of a *–tūn* here. The addition of *–welle* (*Funtum[e]welle* fifteenth century) indicates the significance of the spring which is no longer visible, and the present form appears to be a dative plural (for locative).

It is important to note that all elements which are added to **funta,* in either position, are Old English. Where **funta* is a qualifier, it may have been a late usage, as a simplex was not liked. There are important conclusions to be drawn from the ways in which the **funta* names were taken into the Old English naming system, which are explored in Chapter 5.

Roman evidence and **funta* sites (Tables 4.1a, 4.1b)

Tables 4.1a and 4.1b show **funta* sites in relation to remains of Roman presence still visible in the fifth century. In some places also assumptions must be made. The element **funta* itself is a reminder of Roman influence.

The network of roads provided overland access throughout those parts of the country to which this study refers. Presumably, if there were a **funta* which was not accessible, the name would not have had continued significance, and only the corpus of remaining names is available for study. Table 4.1a shows that 17 (81%) of **funta* sites were within 5km of a known major or minor road, and some of these were much closer: Havant, Pitchfont and Cheshunt are adjacent to main roads. All **funta* sites are today accessible by car, though some of the actual springs, if they can be located, require a short walk on foot, such as Pitchfont and Urchfont. In some places a trackway as wide as a cart can be assumed, even where no road surface has been evidenced, because access by wheeled vehicles would have been needed to carry out certain activities. For example, in the Vale of Pewsey, west of the farming activity on the Downs, and west of Urchfont, there were substantial buildings at Market Lavington and at Littleton Panell, which would necessitate access. A similar route may be posited in the Test valley, where a Romano-British farmstead, with a building of some substance, lay 2km north of the spring at Mottisfont and would have needed access (Brown 2009, 69 – 76). Chadshunt lies 1km west of a villa site at Gaydon, in the flat land of the Warwickshire plain (Scott 1993, 179), and 1km east of Wicken Bonhunt there was a Romano-British field system (NMRIC-5567). Such evidence is included in Table 4.1a on grounds of probability, but other evidence may be discounted on grounds of improbability, for example the road from *Sorviodunum* to the west ran within 5km north of Teffont but there was a ridge of high ground between, on which there were worked fields, but there is no obvious reason why Teffont in the Nadder valley should have been linked to the main road. However, access would have been necessary to the sites at Upper Holt Copse, 1km south of Teffont springhead, where there is evidence of a building, field boundaries and a probable shrine, and 0.5 km further at Eyewell Farm where there is evidence of a settlement and a field system of 10 ha. Romano-British agricultural activity is well-evidenced on the fertile land around Bedfont. To the west of Funthams, Orton Hall Farm and other sites were busy farmsteads, of no apparent pretension, and agricultural activity is evidenced around Tolleshunt. Thus 20 (95.2%) **funta* sites must have been accessible by road or track, Fovant being the only site with no available evidence.

No **funta* site is known in a Roman urban setting. Today the only **funta* in any type of town situation is Havant, where the Homewell is preserved close to the modern town centre which has grown up at the earlier crossroads. Bedfont and Cheshunt are modern built-up areas, but at neither is the **funta* to be identified and at each the church has been arbitrarily selected as a central point, while at Bedfordwell the central point has to be a traffic roundabout. As for the proximity of urban areas, Table 4.1b shows that Bedmond is within 5km of the walls of *Verulamium*, and at 4.5km may actually have lain at the edge of the *territorium* (Chapter 3 Area 11). Funtington is 6.5 km from the walls of Chichester, on the edge of the entrenchments, so these two are both demonstrably non-urban. Likewise, no **funta* appears in, or close to, a small town; Bedfont is 6km from *Pontibus* on the road to London, and Tolleshunt (Wicks Manor Farm) is 7km from Heybridge.

Large Roman temples were only constructed in urban areas, but there is evidence of three rural temples near **funta* sites. On the road by Pitchfont an early

temple building overlay an Iron Age site, south of Havant there was a temple on Hayling Island and south of Funtington a temple at Ratham Mill. These last three sites are known to have lapsed by the end of the Roman period, Ratham Mill in the second century (Britannia 1983, xiv, 26, 4 – 6), Hayling Island in the early third century (Downey et al 1979) and Titsey by the late Roman period, so if the term **funta* came into use in the fifth or sixth century, there would have been no connection with temple sites. Rural shrines may well have continued. Although comparisons with Continental Europe suggest that it is likely that water was an important natural feature in the ritual or religious life of the native British population in Roman Britain, known Romano-British shrines near **funta* sites are typically just under the brow of a hill, with no special relationship to water (Bird 2004, 160 - 1). The Pitchfont temple is in such a situation, and near springs. The shrines at Upper Holt Copse, below the brow of the hill 1km to the south of Teffont, and on the Downs 1km to the south of Urchfont, are indicated by apparently votive deposits including fourth-century coin.

At Pitchfont villa there is evidence not only of such farming activity as would be expected, but also of fulling, and industrial sites are known near other **funta* sites. On Ermine Street, 2 km south of Cheshunt there is evidence of industry, north of Havant was the Rowlands Castle pottery industry, but the bloomery 5km north of Boarhunt in the Forest of Bere did not outlast the second century. Iron-working is well-known in the Weald in the vicinity of Fontridge, and there was salt production on the marsh edge near Bedfordwell, and also on the Blackwater estuary near Tolleshunt. Near Founthill, there was sporadic iron and tile production. Table 4.1a shows that 20 **funta* sites are near a rural farming or industrial site, thus 95.2% of the total. The terrain on the right bank of the Nadder here may account for the lack of evidence around Fovant.

Burial evidence near **funta* sites is scanty, with at least a small piece of evidence near 5 sites, 23.8%. Burials were not permitted inside urban areas, so cemeteries clustered around these, and scattered burials are known in rural settings. Due to late Roman burial practice, rural examples are often difficult to identify. A burial is listed 0.5 km south of Bedfont (NMR), an inhumation 2km west-north-west of Bedfordwell and 6 cinerary urns, probably early Roman, 4km to the south-west (SAC 58, 1916, 190 – 3). At Funthams 8 male second-century inhumations were found, and 3 km south of Bonhunt probably early cremations (NMR). The cemetery evidence within 5km of Urchfont is from Devizes, over a ridge of high ground, and so ignored for present purposes. At Teffont Evias quarry a cemetery with 30 graves and 100 cists was found (NMR), and at Fovant, 750m from the spring, 3 inhumations with hobnails (NMR). This is the only piece of information available which relates to Fovant.

All **funta* sites were rural in Roman times, and most still are. All except Fovant are known to have been in areas of farming or industrial activity, and all had access. It may be that at Fovant the evidence awaits discovery. The only **funta* sites where Roman evidence is close to the spring site are Funthams, Fovant and Bedfordwell, where there are burials close, and Havant, where there is Roman material in the church. The implication of this is considered in Chapter 5.

Table 4.1a Roman evidence and *_funta_ sites

		major or minor road or track in 5km			any activity in 5km agricultural			
	Area	adjacent	known	assumed	villa/estate	farmstead	field	industrial
Bedfont	11		x	x		x	x	
Bedfordwell	4		x	x				x
Bedmond	11		x		x			
Boarhunt	3		x		x			x
Chadshunt	10		x	x	x			
Chalfont	11		x					x
Cheshunt	11	x	x			x		x
Founthill	4		x				x	x
Fovant	1							
F(r)ontridge	4		x					x
Funthams	9		x	x		x	x	
Funtington	3		x		x			
Funtley	3		x			x		
Havant	3	x	x		x			x
Mottisfont	2			x		x		
Pitchfont	5	x	x		x			x
Teffont	1			x			x	
Tolleshunt	7		x	x		x	x	x
Urchfont	1			x	x	x		
Wansunt	6		x			x		
W. Bonhunt	8			x		x	x	

Table 4.1b Roman evidence and *_funta_ sites

		urbs		small town					
	Area	5km	10km	5km	10km	burial	cemetery	shrine	temple
Bedfont	11			x		x			
Bedfordwell	4					x			
Bedmond	11	x							
Boarhunt	3								
Chadshunt	10								
Chalfont	11								
Cheshunt	11								
Founthill	4								
Fovant	1					x			
F(r)ontridge	4								
Funthams	9					x			
Funtington	3		x						x
Funtley	3								
Havant	3								x
Mottisfont	2								
Pitchfont	5								x
Teffont	1						x	x	
Tolleshunt	7				x				
Urchfont	1							x	
Wansunt	6								
W. Bonhunt	8				x				

Early Anglo-Saxon evidence and*_funta_ sites (Table 4.2)

The main source of evidence for an early Anglo-Saxon presence is, of course cemetery excavation. Evidence for settlement sites in this period is rarer, as organic materials such as timber do not survive well in the archaeological record. It cannot be stressed too strongly that knowledge of any early Anglo-Saxon sites is limited to the evidence available at the time of writing, and that as time goes on this evidence should increase, supplemented by finds evidence as well as excavation. Excavation has demonstrated that cemeteries and settlement were closely related, so burials can thus be taken to construct a pattern of settlement location. Even though settlement mobility was a common feature in the early Anglo-Saxon period, the same burial grounds continued in use, as evidenced at Mucking (Essex), where settlement shifted but was always within 500m of the burial ground (Hamerow 2002, 94 – 5, 105, 121). Settlement was often localised in river valleys, for example, in Area 3, in the valleys of the Itchen and Dever. Because of this localised pattern the distances of 5 and 10 km may be too small to be significant, but are retained for comparison with other evidence, and comments added where applicable.

Cemeteries and settlements are combined as evidence, and dating is divided into primary and secondary phases, as shown on Table 4.2.

Primary and secondary phases of settlement.

The *_funta_ sites all lie in the mid-south-east lowland part of the country, with none in the large areas of primary settlement in East Anglia or East Kent. The overall distribution of *_funta_ sites may relate to different areas of migration and settlement. Primary settlement would be dated to the mid-fifth-century period, as opposed to secondary settlement which would more probably date to the late fifth and sixth centuries. Settlement appears to have been primary near 7 sites (33.3%), and these sites all have easy access from the sea or a river mouth, which may have been an important factor: Bedfont (Harmondsworth) and Wansunt (Cray and Darent valleys) are accessible from the Thames, Funthams (Orton Hall Farm) from the Nene, Tolleshunt (Heybridge) from the Blackwater, Boarhunt and Funtley (Droxford, Fareham) from the Meon and Bedfordwell (Eastbourne, St Anne's) from the coast. All these sites have evidence which appears to relate to a primary phase of settlement.

The other 7 sites (33.3%), with evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence nearby, have overland access, and show evidence of a secondary phase of settlement. Near Chadshunt, the cemeteries such as Wasperton show association with others within this country, and Bonhunt is near Great Chesterford which shows association with the Cambridge area, though several burials here were dated to the period AD450- 500 and thus lie somewhere between primary and secondary by dating evidence. The evidence from Cheshunt is limited to a temporary settlement. Pitchfont is near Farthing Down, where progression from the earlier cemeteries to the north at Mitcham and Croydon is probable, and Funtington is near Apple Down where there is evidence of an association with Kent and the Isle of Wight. Market Lavington near Urchfont appears to be a secondary settlement from Saxon areas to the east.

Table 4.2 shows that 14 **funta* sites (66.6%) have evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence nearby prior to AD 650 within a distance of 10km. Of these 14 sites, 7 sites (33.3%) have evidence of primary settlement, the other 7 sites (33.3%) have evidence of secondary settlement, and the remaining 7 sites (33.3%) have no such evidence within this distance. Thus the sites are equally divided into having primary, secondary or no sign at all of an Anglo-Saxon presence within 10km. The localised nature of Germanic settlement may be the reason for this. Bedmond is close to *Verulamium*, where no evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence prior to the eighth century has been found. Chalfont may have been within the sphere of influence of *Verulamium* too, and the early settlement at Harmondsworth is more than 20km downstream on the Colne from here. There is no evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence in the vicinity of Fontridge or Founthill, in the Weald, not the sort of territory which would have been of initial attraction to the incomers. Fovant is separated from the cemetery at Broad Chalke in the Ebble valley by a virtually impassable ridge, and the cemetery at Harnham, near Salisbury is some 12km downstream on the Nadder from the situation of Fovant and Teffont. Mottisfont is 16km downstream on the Test from the cemetery at Barton Stacey.

It is obvious from the above figures that a close Anglo-Saxon presence before AD 650 is not a defining feature of a **funta*, since a third of the number of sites have no such evidence. There is no apparently common feature, of either date or phase,from current knowledge of the early Anglo-Saxon period which links all **funta* sites.

Table 4.2 Early Anglo-Saxon evidence and ****funta* **sites.

	Area	within 5km	only within 10km	primary set	secondary set	any set	Comments
Bedfont	11	x		x		x	Harmondsworth
Bedfordwell	4	x		x		x	St Anne's
Bedmond	11						Verulamium 8c
Boarhunt	3	x		x		x	Fareham
Chadshunt	10	x			x	x	B Dassett nearest
Chalfont	11						
Cheshunt	11	x			x	x	2 sfb
Founthill	4						
Fovant	1						
F(r)ontridge	4						
Funthams	9	x		x		x	Orton Hall Fm
Funtington	3		x		x	x	Apple Down
Funtley	3	x		x		x	Fareham
Havant	3	x			x	x	Camp Hill
Mottisfont	2						R Itchen, R Dever
Pitchfont	5		x		x	x	Farthing Down
Teffont	1						
Tolleshunt	7		x	x		x	Heybridge
Urchfont	1	x			x	x	Mkt Lavington
Wansunt	6		x	x		x	Cray, Darent valleys
W. Bonhunt	8		x		x	x	Gt Chesterford

Pre-English names and *_funta_ sites (Tables 4.3a, b).

Surviving pre-English names testify to the survival of the native indigenous British population at a time when new people were entering the region, and may indicate a local British political ascendancy with which any newcomers would have had to come to terms. Table 4.3a shows pre-English names within 5km of the *_funta_ sites. Table 4.3b adds to this with information on pre-English names within 10km of *_funta_ sites. This information is also shown on the maps included with each area in Chapter 3.

From Table 4.3a it will be seen that of the 21 *_funta_ sites, 8, 38%, have no pre-English name within 5km, 13 (61.9%) have at least one pre-English name within 5km, and of these, 4 (19%) have more than one. These four are Boarhunt, Funtley, Havant and Urchfont, of which the first three are in Area 3. It seems that the coastal area from Southampton Water to Bognor may have been a region of continuing British authority, where the Latin elements *_port_* and *_ōra_* continued to be used. This suggestion is reinforced by the Latin name for Portchester, *_Portus Adurni_*, in which the second part is a Latinised Brittonic word from Brit ***_ardu_** "height", referring to the hills behind the harbour (Rivet and Smith 1979, 441 - 2). The fourth site, Urchfont, lies within 2km of Conock and Crookwood. Of the 13 sites which have at least one pre-English name within 5km, 8 (38% of the total) have a name which derives from a Brittonic term, including an ancient term mediated through Brittonic. Of the others, all have Latin derivatives nearby: Teffont and Fovant have each other as closest names, Havant and Funtington have names in *_ōra_* as closest and the other one is Bedmond, whose nearest is *_Verlamaceastir_* which persisted in use to the eighth century but is difficult to classify, as its first element derives from its pre-Roman name with *_ceaster_* as second element, like Winchester.

Table 4.3b shows that 18 sites, 85.7%, have at least one pre-English name within 10km. Eight sites, 38%, have only one, of which three are from Latin. Three sites have six names within 10km, and, unsurprisingly, these are the three sites in south Hampshire, Area 3, north of the coastal areas which may have been called *_port_* and *_ōra,_* where British authority may have been strong. This reinforces the evidence from Table 4.3a. The evidence for a British area around Pitchfont, based on the name of Limpsfield, is also reinforced, with other pre-English names to north and east, and also at Urchfont. However, the three names listed near Fovant may be misleading, as both Crookhill and Croucheston are beyond the scarp slope which rises above 200m, almost 8 000ft, between the valleys of the Nadder and the Ebble. The names closest to Bedfordwell and Founthill in East Sussex, Area 4, are both from Latin *_campus_*, derivatives of which are not uncommon in this area,

Some pre-English names are known to have continued for some time before dropping from use. The area to the east of Bedfordwell was known as *_Andred_*, still used for the Weald in 893 (ASC [A]), but by 1086 the name *_Pevenesel_* was used for Pevensey. Some places keep the names of what may be local authority figures, for example *_Ceorot_* and *_Eccel_* in Chertsey and Ashford near Bedfont. It is also noticeable that no pre-English names are known in the north-west hinterland of London, closer to

the city than the **funta* names. Occasionally early Anglo-Saxon evidence coincides with a pre-English name, such as (Burton) Dassett near Chadshunt and (Shudy) Camps near Wicken Bonhunt, though in both cases the Saxon evidence is later than the mid-sixth century.

A high number of **funta* sites have another pre-English name within 10km. There may, of course, have been other pre-English names in the vicinity of **funta* names which have fallen out of use before being recorded, or which may still survive unrecognised as field or other minor names: evidence which is not available

Table 4.3a ****funta* **sites and pre-English names within 5km.

	Area	At least one name	All names	Nearest name	Type
Bedfont	11	x	Ashford	Ashford	pre-English
Bedfordwell	4				
Bedmond	11	x	Verlamaceastir	Verlamaceastir	Latin
Boarhunt	3	x	Creech, Cams, Funtley, Wicor	Creech	pre-English
Chadshunt	10	x	Dassett	Dassett	pre-English
Chalfont	11				
Cheshunt	11	x	Brickendon	Brickendon	pre-English
Founthill	4				
Fovant	1	x	Teffont	Teffont	**funta*
F(r)ontridge	4				
Funthams	9				
Funtington	3	x	Colner	Colner	Latin
Funtley	3	x	Boarhunt, Cams Hall	Cams Hall	pre-English
Havant	3	x	Hendy, Hoxer, Penner, Nore	Hendy	Latin
Mottisfont	2				
Pitchfont	5	x	Limpsfield	Limpsfield	pre-English
Teffont	1	x	Fovant	Fovant	**funta*
Tolleshunt	7	x	Layer Marney,	Layer Marney	pre-English
Urchfont	1	x	Crookwood, Conock	Conock	pre-English
Wansunt	6				
W. Bonhunt	8				

Table 4.3b ****funta* **sites and pre-English names within 10km

	Area	At least 1 in 5km	No of names within 10km	Nearest name	type
Bedfont	11	x	2	Ashford	pre-English
Bedfordwell	4		1	Comp Barn	Latin
Bedmond	11	x	1	Verlamaceastir	Latin
Boarhunt	3	x	6	Creech	pre-English
Chadshunt	10	x	1	Dassett	pre-English
Chalfont	11		1	Penn	pre-English
Cheshunt	11	x	1	Brickendon	pre-English
Founthill	4		2	Barcombe	Latin
Fovant	1	x	3	Teffont	Latin
F(r)ontridge	4		0		
Funthams	9		0		
Funtington	3	x	2	Colner	Latin
Funtley	3	x	6	Cams Hall	Latin
Havant	3	x	6	Hendy	Latin
Mottisfont	2		1	Melchet	pre-English
Pitchfont	5	x	4	Limpsfield	pre-English
Teffont	1	x	1	Fovant	Latin
Tolleshunt	7	x	2	Layer Marney	pre-English
Urchfont	1	x	3	Conock	pre-English
Wansunt	6		0		
W. Bonhunt	8		1	Radwinter	Latin

*****<u>*funta* sites and places called *wīchām*.</u>

The appellative *wīchām,* though not a pre-English place-name as such, will be called in as evidence, since it was a name given by speakers of Old English to a certain type of indigenous settlement. Both elements in *wīchām* are taken as Old English. Names in *w(e)alh* are excluded, as the element is Old English, and though what it denotes is important as evidence of British survival at a later date than the fifth century, it does not necessarily denote British speech or authority. Both elements, *wīc* and *w(e)alh*, are known in Europe (Appendix 2, elements).
As Table 4.3c shows, it is difficult to make any general comment on the relative positions of *wīchām* and **funta* sites, but a *wīchām* has been believed to a place where incomers found a place of indigenous authority. There are 10 sites (47.6%) which have a *wīchām* near enough to be considered as usable evidence, even though the distances range from on site, as at Urchfont, to 30km away, as at Bedfordwell, so explanation is needed. At Bedfordwell, the *wīchām* in question is near Hastings, an area of known late settlement between Kent and Sussex, and beyond an intervening landscape of, at best, marshland in the fifth and sixth centuries, and although the **funta* is within 750m east of convincing early Anglo-Saxon cemetery evidence, the *wīchām* begs to be mentioned. At Founthill pre-English names, early Anglo-Saxon evidence and a *wīchām* are all to the south within 10km. In Area 3, south-west Hants and south West Sussex, the *wīchām* is between the **funta* sites and the names in *port* and *ōra,* and the early cemetery at Droxford, but this evidence is muddied by the cemetery at Fareham and the early Anglo-Saxon settlement inside Portchester castle. At Pitchfont the *wīchām* is 12km to the east downstream on the Darent and appears to mark the eastern limit of an area of British authority at a point where there is known early Anglo-Saxon activity, with Pitchfont and Limpsfield at the western limit and south of the early cemeteries at Mitcham and Croydon. At Tolleshunt and Wansunt the position of the *wīchām* invites no comment, and at Urchfont the *wīchām* is at the **funta*. High Wycombe near Chalfont may not be a *wīchām* (Gelling 1967). Thus no conclusion can be made at present as to the relationship of **funta* and *wīchām.*

Table 4. 3c ****funta* **sites and places called ***wīchām*****.**

	Area	within 5km pre-Eng name	within 5km eAS evidence	*wīchām*			
Bedfont	11	x	x				
Bedfordwell	4		x	30km			
Bedmond	11	x					
Boarhunt	3	x	x	4km			
Chadshunt	10	x					
Chalfont	11			15km			
Cheshunt	11	x					
Founthill	4			6km			
Fovant	1	x					
F(r)ontridge	4						
Funthams	9		x				
Funtington	3	x					
Funtley	3	x	x	4km			
Havant	3	x		14km			
Mottisfont	2						
Pitchfont	5	x		12km			
Teffont	1	x					
Tolleshunt	7	x		6km			
Urchfont	1	x	x	on spot			
Wansunt	6			6km			
W. Bonhunt	8						

***funta* sites and the notion of a boundary location (Tables 4.4a, b, c)**

In Chapter 3 many **funta* sites were shown to be located between areas of continuing British occupation and early Anglo-Saxon settlement, and thus in an intervening or liminal zone. Nowadays territorial boundaries may be marked physically, on the ground and on a map with a line, but a boundary may also be a liminal area or zone, perhaps a no-man's-land, or a landscape feature, or pinpointed by a certain marker.

Boundaries are often traditional, and it may be that the LPRIA tribal divisions persisted into the Roman era, with tribal names attached to the *civitas* capital, perhaps lingering even into the post-Roman era and re-emerging in the fragmented authority of the fifth century. There were markers in Roman Britain such as rural shrines, which might include springs as part of the pantheistic nature of Romano-British Celtic ritual, and which may be found on edges or in liminal areas. Pagan shrines have been found on traditional boundaries, with names which include elements such as *hearg* or *weoh* (Gelling 1978, 159). Edges shared by two sets of people have relevance to both sets, so may unite as well as divide. Some types of boundary, such as soils or landscape features, may be important. Any of these may appear at a **funta* site. The boundaries of early estates are mentioned where appropriate. An examination of other relevant administrative or ecclesiastical boundaries is beyond the scope of the present study, but would prove informative. Modern county boundaries are mentioned but may have moved over the years, for boundaries are the way in which human society divides land; they move, disappear or continue as society requires.

Since it is suggested that a **funta* may lie in a boundary area, here evidence of both an early Anglo-Saxon presence and also pre-English names, within a distance of 5km of a **funta* site, is to be considered initially. These figures, from Tables 4.2, Tables 4.3a and b, are combined in Table 4.4a, which shows that 13 sites (61.9%) have a pre-English name within 5km, and 9 sites (42.8%) have early Anglo-Saxon evidence within 5km. Six sites (28.5%) have a name and no early Anglo-Saxon evidence, 2 sites (9.5%) have only early Anglo-Saxon evidence and no pre-English name within 5km. These two are Funthams and Bedfordwell, where Germanic presence is shown to be early. Seven sites (33.3%) have both types of evidence within 5km. Six sites (28.5%) have neither type of evidence within 5km, and of these, Chalfont and Fontridge have neither within 10km. These arbitrary limits produce confusing evidence with percentages and figures, and it is better to inform them by using a more general approach. The wider picture shows that each **funta* site may have had some boundary significance if all evidence is considered.

The information set out in Table 4.4a has been used to suggest that a **funta* may have lain in neutral or liminal territory. Table 4.4b combines this evidence with the presence of a *wīchām* and apparent areas of continued British occupation. For many **funta* sites there are other factors which may reinforce the notion of a nearby boundary of some type, and so, finally, Table 4.4c sets out all available evidence for considering that a **funta* may have had such a significance, which is now discussed.

There are many ways of grouping the sites for discussion, but the most straightforward has been found to be to refer to them in their areas by number. Any other grouping which has been tried produces unhelpful, opaque results, but Bedfont and Pitchfont will be considered first as their features will inform what is to be looked for at the other sites. At Bedfont and at Pitchfont there is the clearest evidence of a marked division between the territory of indigene and incomer. The information provided by modern excavation and place-names near these two sites offers a basis for examination at other sites, with reference to a division of territory which may be signified by a **funta.* It is tempting to see a continuation of British presence in an area as a sign of a continuation of British authority, and this will be considered in Chapter 5.

At **Bedfont (Area 11)** the **funta* is clearly situated between an area of early Anglo-Saxon settlement around Harmondsworth to the north, and an area where place-names indicate British occupation to the south, the closest in each case, at 4km, being equidistant from the **funta*, with the Thames not constituting a boundary (Figure 8, page 100). Later the territory of the Middle Saxons extended to this point, now the edge of Greater London. **Pitchfont (Area 5)** too lies between an area of apparent British continuation indicated by the name Limpsfield to the south and, to the north, early cemeteries at Mitcham (16km) and at Croydon Park Lane (12km). Pitchfont is by the site of a LPRIA shrine which became a Romano-British temple beside the road from London, just under the scarp of the Downs, near a bank-and-ditch boundary marker and on the edge of an apparent area of British authority which lasted into the seventh century when the barrow burials were made at Farthing Down (Figure 12, page 123).

Thus both these sites lie between areas of British and early Anglo-Saxon occupation, close to a boundary dating to later Saxon time which continues into modern times. These facts will now be used in an examination of the other sites.

Table 4.4b shows that 15 **funta* sites (71.4%) are on the edge of an area which appears to be of continuing British authority (Figure 6, page 91). In **Area 11**, **Chalfont** lies between the early Anglo-Saxon settlement at Harmondsworth, north of Bedfont, which is 10km downstream on the Colne from Chalfont, and the zone of influence of *Verulamium* which may have extended south to Chalfont, where the estate of Wycombe adjoined to the west (S 106, AD 764). **Bedmond** may have been on the edge of the *territorium* of *Verulamium*, whose Latin name and lack of pre-eighth-century Anglo-Saxon evidence is well-evidenced (Niblett 2001a, 140 – 6), and in AD 705 (S 1784) the bounds of Hemel (Hempstead) ran along to the west. Evidence from Baldock, 33km north of **Cheshunt**, and place-names local to Cheshunt, reinforce the argument for a large area of British authority to the north and west of the Lea and into the Chilterns, with centres of authority at *Verulamium* and Baldock (Current Archaeology 2010, xxi, 6; Baker 2006). Cheshunt lies on the right (west) bank of the river Lea, a LPRIA tribal boundary which was later a diocesan boundary. It appears that, though the sites in Area 11 are separate, they lie between a tract of British-held territory in the Chilterns and around *Verulamium*, and the London basin which was not settled until well after the fifth century.

In **Area 3**, the four **funta* sites **Funtley, Boarhunt, Havant** and **Funtington** lie along to the north of the coastal strip where names in *port* and *ōra* are numerous and where it is suggested that British occupation or authority may have continued, with a *wīchām* inland and *Venta Belgarum* further north-west (Figure 3, page 57). This is discussed fully in Chapter 3. Funtington is between the coastal *ōra* names and Apple Down, also lying at the west end of the entrenchments and Devil's Dyke. Boarhunt, Funtley and Havant are north of the coastal area of *port* and *ōra* names and perhaps on its edge, also, later, in the territory of the Meonware, a buffer area between the West and East Saxons.

Mottisfont (Area 2) lies on the west bank of the Test, and although the river does not appear to have been a boundary in the LPRIA, nevertheless the **funta* is well away from the early Anglo-Saxon settlement both at *Venta Belgarum,* overground to the east, and in the Dever valley upstream to the north. The Test is an obvious landscape feature (Figure 10, page 115).

In **Area 4**, the evidence for continued British authority to the east of **Bedfordwell** is sketchy, but the late use of the name *Andred* for the Weald, which was *Andret* in 1086, and the admittedly distant *wīchām,* may be indicative. There is good evidence for assuming a boundary nearby, since Bedfordwell is some 750m from early cemetery evidence and may be at the stream which was called the *mercredesburna*, (ASC *sub anno* 485). At **Founthill**, the proximity of a *wīchām* is accompanied by the existence of several names in *comp* in the Lewes area, which may show British authority. There is little evidence for a boundary at or near **Fontridge,** though the ridge on which it stands and the confluence of the Limden and Dudwell with the Rother may have indicated a boundary at some time in the Weald (Figure 5, page 73).

At **Wansunt (Area 6),** only the presence of East Wickham, 6km away, and West Wickham, 13km away, can be evidenced (Figure 13, page 131). Wansunt has little evidence of being an early boundary but emerges in the ninth century in the reign of Athelstan, as the Cray in the valley below was known to be the boundary of the rights of Londoners.

Tolleshunt (Area 7) overlooks the Blackwater estuary, an Iron Age boundary, and is 7km from the early, though short-lived, settlement at Heybridge (Figure 184, page 137). Wicken **Bonhunt (Area 8)** is south of Great Chesterford and north, though by some distance, of the supposed British area around Baldock (Figure 15, page 143). **Funthams (Area 9)** lies on boundaries of many types: the soil changes here at the Fen edge, the LPRIA boundary of the Iceni and the Corieltauvi was here and later the boundary of the East Angles and Mercia, the edge of the Hundred of Nassaborough and the Soke of Peterborough, and the modern county boundary of Cambridgeshire. The Nene here also appears to have been at one time a dialect boundary for the palatalisation of [k] (Figure 16, page 147; Appendix 1, 346 - 54).

Historical evidence indicates that **Chadshunt (Area 10)** lay in western Mercia (Figure 17, page 157). The bounds of the diocese of Worcester, created in c680, are believed to follow the boundary of the territory of the Hwicce which adjoins Mercia at this point. The Hwicce may have been speakers of Primitive Welsh.

In west Wiltshire **(Area 1)** archaeological and place-name evidence support the notion of British strength, since there is a lack of evidence of Anglo-Saxon presence before the late seventh century and many place-names are wholly British. **Teffont** has the element *tēo,* thus named as a boundary, which may date from pre-Roman times and with a shrine nearby, reinforced by the evidence from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which lists military victories by the Anglo-Saxons in 552 and 556 to the east but a defeat on the Ridgeway to the north in 592, after which there appears to have been no Germanic presence west of Teffont till the late seventh century. **Urchfont** also has a shrine, a similar lack of Anglo-Saxon evidence to the west until the late seventh century and an apparently frontier settlement at Market Lavington. **Fovant** has the same evidence as Teffont (above), but without the added evidence of the Romano-British shrine (Figure 2, page 45).

Table 4.4c shows that, on the basis of this discussion, 16 sites (76.1%) have good evidence for a boundary location, and 5 sites (23.8%) have some evidence. A boundary of some type seems to be an important feature in defining a **funta*, but there may also be other defining features. In Chapter 5 all reasons why a **funta* was a significant place will be examined.

Table 4.4a Relative positions.

		Closest pre-Eng name			Closest eAS			Both	
	Area	5km	10km		5km	10km		5km	10km
Bedfont	11	x			x			x	
Bedfordwell	4				x				
Bedmond	11	x							
Boarhunt	3	x			x			x	
Chadshunt	10	x			x			x	
Chalfont	11								
Cheshunt	11	x			x			x	
Founthill	4		x	E Chiltington					
Fovant	1	x							
F(r)ontridge	4								
Funthams	9				x				
Funtington	3	x				x			x
Funtley	3	x			x			x	
Havant	3	x			x			x	
Mottisfont	2		x	Melchet					
Pitchfont	5	x							
Teffont	1	x							
Tolleshunt	7	x				x			x
Urchfont	1	x			x			x	
Wansunt	6					x			
W. Bonhunt	8		x	Radwinter		x			x

Table 4. 4b **funta* sites and pre-English names, eAS evidence, *wicham* sites and British occupation.

		within 5km			Area of British authority,evidence		
	Area	pre-Eng name	eAS evidence	*wīchām*	place-name	archaeological	historical
Bedfont	11	x	x		o		
Bedfordwell	4		x	30km	o		
Bedmond	11	x			x	x	
Boarhunt	3	x	x	4km	o		o
Chadshunt	10	x	x				x
Chalfont	11			15km	o	x	
Cheshunt	11	x	x		o	x	
Founthill	4			6km	o		
Fovant	1	x					x
F(r)ontridge	4						
Funthams	9		x				
Funtington	3	x			o		
Funtley	3	x	x	4km	o		
Havant	3	x	x		14km	o	
Mottisfont	2					o	
Pitchfont	5	x		12km	x		
Teffont	1	x					x
Tolleshunt	7	x		6km			
Urchfont	1	x	x	on spot			x
Wansunt	6			6km			
W. Bonhunt	8					o	

x = accepted evidence, mentioned elsewhere
o = implied in this study

Table 4.4c ****funta* **sites and boundaries

	Area	LPRIA/R	Poss early Brit edge	between Brit & eAS	eAS estate /kingdom /later political	boundary	
Bedfont	11		x	x	x x	x	
Bedfordwell	4		x	x		x	*mercredesburna*
Bedmond	11		x		x	x	
Boarhunt	3		x		x	x	
Chadshunt	10		x		x	x	diocesan/ling
Chalfont	11		x	x	x	x	
Cheshunt	11	x	x			x	diocesan
Founthill	4		x			o	
Fovant	1		x	x		x	
F(r)ontridge	4					o	
Funthams	9	x			x x	x	soil/linguistic
Funtington	3	x	x			x	
Funtley	3		x		x	x	
Havant	3		x		x	x	
Mottisfont	2		x			o	Test
Pitchfont	5	x	x	x	x x	x	
Teffont	1	x	x	x		x	*teo*
Tolleshunt	7	x				o	
Urchfont	1	x	x			x	Market Lav
Wansunt	6					o	Cray
W. Bonhunt	8		x			x	

x = good evidence for boundary location
o = some evidence for boundary location

*****<u>*funta* sites and central places.</u>

It must be that **funta* sites had a special significance in the fifth and sixth centuries, when they were named, and as Anglo-Saxon society developed some became central, important places. An entry in Domesday Book will indicate that a place was the *caput* of a manor in the eleventh century, and Table 4.5 shows that 12 **funta* sites (57.1%) are mentioned in Domesday and so had become manorial centres. The number of times a manor was mentioned will not indicate its extent, as many landholders could hold land in any single manor. Some **funta* sites must have become solitary farms, part of a larger manorial complex, and no **funta* name is the name of a hundred.

Tolleshunt appears to have been an extensive holding, since it is mentioned 10 times, with 9 separate landholders, one of whom, Robert Gernon, held land in two hundreds but it is specified that both were in the manor of Tolleshunt. Most of Tolleshunt was in the hundred of Thurstable, but one holding (one of Robert Gernon's) was in the hundred of Chelmsford. In present times, over the road from the parish church at Tolleshunt Major, and overlooking the valley of the Blackwater, is Mill Mound, traditionally believed to have been the assembly point for the hundred of Thurstable. Tolleshunt seems to have been a place of importance, a central place in medieval England.

Any ritual significance attached to a **funta* continued at 7 sites (33.3%). Of the 12 **funta* sites in Domesday, only Mottisfont is stated to have had a church, though more may have done so. The first element of the name, *motere*, indicates that this was a place of assembly. In the entry for Mottisfont the church is said to have had six dependent chapels, so it may have been a minster, since this would often develop where there was an attached group of clergy. The manor was previously held by Edward the Confessor, now held by Archbishop Thomas with a part retained by the king. The Augustinian priory was founded here in 1201, so the place seems to have had a traditional ritual or religious significance.

Four other **funta* sites have evidence of early churches. At Boarhunt, about 500m across the road from the spring, is the Saxon church of St Nicholas, and the farm here is Manor Farm. The first element of the name, *byrig*, indicates that there was some kind of fortification here, but dating is impossible. Another **funta* site where an early church was beside the spring is Havant, and at Bonhunt the present 12th century chapel of St Helen may replace an earlier one, on the site of the apparently ritual bone depositions. At Pitchfont the Saxon church was destroyed in the nineteenth century, and a new church built nearby. There is no evidence available of an early church at Chadshunt, but the spring was in medieval times a traditional and prosperous holy well. At Urchfont the church overlooks the *font.*

It will be seen from Table 4.5 that whatever the significance or importance of the **funta* sites in past times, they vary today between being obliterated under urban sprawl to an industrial site or a rural farmstead. At only 11 sites (42.8%) can any spring or watery place be found today, and these vary from the tourist attraction at Mottisfont to the little trickle at Urchfont, which nevertheless is proudly signposted through the village, or

the springhead at Teffont which must be reached through nettles and branches.

Thus whatever the original reason why a **funta* was originally chosen as a significant place, there is little evidence that as a group they continued for long to have any political or social significance, but developed individually. Some present details on Table 4.5 which are known from personal observation will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 4.5 ****funta* **sites and central places

	Area	in DB	comments	Modern times spring/water	situation
Bedfont	11	x			urban
Bedfordwell	4				urban
Bedmond	11			x	hamlet
Boarhunt	3	x	Saxon church Manor Fm DMV	x	farm
Chadshunt	10	x	holy well DMV	x	6 houses
Chalfont	11	x			village
Cheshunt	11	x			urban
Founthill	4				farm
Fovant	1			x	village
F(r)ontridge	4				farm
Funthams	9				factory site
Funtington	3			x	village
Funtley	3	x	documents signed here	x	village
Havant	3	x	early church Homewell	x	town
Mottisfont	2	x	?minster	x	village
Pitchfont	5		early church		farm
Teffont	1	x		x	village
Tolleshunt	7	x	100 moot		village
Urchfont	1	x	church near spring	x	village
Wansunt	6				road name
W. Bonhunt	8	x	old chapel	x	farm

Summary of Chapter 4.

The preceding pages of this chapter have produced some answers to the questions: what was a **funta*? What were its features? Some of the answers are positive, some raise further questions and some are couched in negative terms. The facts which have appeared may be marshalled and condensed by taking the previous sections in order, and some repetition will occur as the sections are revisited.

An examination of the **funta* place-names themselves shows that 33.3% have personal names as qualifiers, 23.8% have a visible feature as qualifier and 19% a qualifier which relates to human use. The significance of these choices and constructions will be addressed in Chapter 5.

The analysis of Roman evidence near each **funta* site was the most productive section, bringing out positive results. This may, of course, relate to the fact that **funta* derives from a Latin word, and though there is a question as to whether Latin was much spoken in rural areas, since all **funta* sites have been shown to be in rural areas, this may add to the debate outlined in Chapter 2. All **funta* sites were accessible in Roman times, by an overground route which would provide more access than merely on foot, as in 95.2% of cases there is evidence of nearby activity of some sort, as shown on Table 4.1a. Only one **funta*, Bedmond, was within 5km of the walls of a Roman city, only one other, Funtington, within 10km, which reinforces the evidence for the rural nature of a **funta* site. Table 4.1b shows that Romano-British shrines are evidenced at only two sites, and the temples near three more all fell from use by the end of the Roman period, so any religious or ritual significance is not of an organised nature.

Table 4.2 shows that proximity to evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon presence was less a defining feature of a **funta* site, with 66.6% of sites having any type of evidence prior to AD650. This evidence is valuable and can be set against the more positive evidence for the proximity of Roman evidence, and the suggestion of a continuation of British sub-Roman occupation.

Tables 4.3a and 4.3b show that 85.7% of *funta* sites have at least one other pre-English place-name within 10km, and 47.6% have more than one. There are 61.9% of sites with at least one such name within 5km. This appears to indicate that there was some type of British survival near such sites. This is reinforced by the fact that 71.4% of **funta* sites appear to have some relation to areas of British occupation, as shown on Table 4.4b. The proximity of a *wīchām* may be an indicator. The question of boundaries arises, and Table 4.4c shows that there may be a relationship of **funta* sites to various types of boundaries, with all sites showing this potential. Not all **funta* sites became central places.

It appears, then, that a **funta* had certain demonstrable features. It would be sited in an area of rural Roman activity, where British survival and even authority continued in the fifth century, and where evidence of early Anglo-Saxon presence is not so frequent. Some features have been identified with which to begin to answer the question: what was a **funta?* What was it like and what did it signify? A possible interpretation will be advanced in Chapter 5.

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Chapter 5.

Interpretation and suggestions for future research.

To interpret is to clarify or elucidate, to perceive the significance of something or to penetrate behind the obvious facts to discover what they really mean in a larger context, to bring a creative understanding to a situation. This is what is now to be attempted for **funta.* This does not mean, however, that the final word has been said, and areas identified for further study are included here.

In Chapter 2 it was established that the place-name element **funta* is something of an anomaly in the English place-name system. It belongs in the small category of Latin loan-words which were borrowed in the early days of Germanic settlement, and is not to be confused with later loans from Latin. It occurs in a limited area of south-east England, and survives in 21 place-names. It is an insular loan-word, not known in the homelands. Its Latin etymon has a clear meaning, "spring", and survives in Romance languages, but the significance of the element in the Anglo-Saxon system has never yet been satisfactorily explained (Baker 2006, 173 – 5, 257). Dr Gelling's suggestion of a defining feature of Roman stonework, which cannot and should not to be ignored or refuted (1977, 9 – 10), is often repeated as no other explanation has, as yet, been put forward.

It is difficult to avoid the use of terms which suggest the analysis current half a century ago, ie a strong military progress of invaders from east to west across the country. Sites like Wasperton give the lie to such a simplistic account. There is evidence that in some places, such as Baldock, there was a desire to adopt and own the emerging Anglo-Saxon culture, and the rapid development and spread of the Old English language indicates its social advantages to all parties.

<u>Recapitulation: the aims, objectives and questions.</u>

The basis of this study has been to discover and define the features of a **funta,* and to suggest reasons why people who spoke a language of the Germanic family needed a distinct word to name such a place, site or landscape feature, within the interaction between them and the indigenous British population. The Germanic dialect varieties which were the basis for Old English had multiple and specific terms for places where water was the defining feature, but no word ready to use for this particular place which they encountered in Britain.

The aims of this study have, then, been to describe a **funta* and to establish reasons why it needed a neologism to name it.

The objectives have been to establish what is known about the political, social and linguistic situation in Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries, extended as necessary into the seventh century (Chapters 1 and 2), then to discover the local situation around each **funta* site during this period of time, and earlier Roman and, if appropriate, LPRIA periods (Chapter 3 and Appendix 1, Gazetteer). This knowledge should enable an understanding of what it was, in the background and facts combined, that necessitated the use of the term *fontāna* as a place-name element, to be adopted by the Germanic settlers and adapted as a specific term for a

certain type of watery place into their place-name system. There is a difference between the etymological meaning of a place-name and its significance, which often relates to a specialised function (Watts 2004, ix – x). It is the significance of the term to its users, rather than its lexical meaning, which is at stake.

The methodology has been to visit all **funta* sites to get an idea of their present position in the landscape (Appendix 1, Gazetteer), and take in any detail which could be significant, then to combine and assess as objectively as possible all the facts which emerge from the objectives, analysing and tabulating into a statistical evaluation, yet not being circumscribed by figures (Chapter 4), then finally to attempt an interpretation of all features, facts, figures and understandings which have been gathered, set in the historical background, to evolve answers to these questions

what was a **funta?*

why did it need a new name?

and so, what was the significance of the element? In Saussurean terms, what was the sign, ie. the signified and the signifier together.

<u>The evidence.</u>

Since the place-name element indicates an interface between speakers of British and speakers of a Germanic tongue, it is appropriate to examine for each group of people the situation in the neighbourhood of each **funta* site (Baker 2006, 174 – 5). However, problems exist when trying to recognise an indigenous British site, and evidence of such places is sparse in the area of Britain where the **funta* sites are found.

It may be assumed that, where areas of agricultural activity of a Late Roman date were evidenced, such activity continued at least in some measure, as people have to eat, and the people working there were British. The withdrawal of the Imperial taxation demands did not mean that agriculture ceased, merely responded to different needs. A local organisation would have to be self-sufficient, as with a lessening of trade and exchange mechanisms, everything necessary would have to be produced locally, so agriculture would have become only part of local activity. It is at the moment not possible to be assured as to exactly where British people lived, in towns or in scattered farmsteads. Local societies would have become organised, with leaders who demanded tribute: this is known to have been the case in the west of the country.

British place-names are often the best evidence of British continuation, and even then some names may be challenged. Place-name scholars continuously revise understandings of derivations, as earlier forms are discovered or reconsidered. Field names near a **funta* may be a rich mine of information about British survival, and field names in *camp* near a **funta* site may produce evidence that a rural sub-Roman people used Latin terms. This would be a major development, beyond the scope of the present study but complementary to it (Gelling 1977, 5 – 8; Chapter 3 Area 4, 76). In excavation, it is difficult to identify settlement remains, as timber buildings do not readily survive in the archaeological record, and where items of Germanic cultural pattern are recovered from cemeteries, it may be that they belonged to either British or Germanic people: artefacts are not

necessarily an indicator of personal origin, but may show personal choice of what the deceased, or those responsible for the burial, wished to show.

Although *fontāna* is usually translated as "spring", later developments in Romance languages demonstrate that other connotations were added in the usage of the word. Springs, and other watery places, were significant locations in the pantheistic Celtic ritual system of belief and practice, and so would have been marked locations in British eyes. At a watery place gods may have been present, and at a spring communication with the other world, below ground, was possible as water issued from below to above, so a spring was a liminal location. Certain modes of behaviour would have been expected, certain rules obtained in the presence of the spirit world, perhaps weapons were prohibited, and certain speech modes prevailed. A **funta* then would have been a significant place in British eyes (HE ii, 13; Green 1986; Valk 2007). If one watery place had a significance which a neighbouring one had not, then this would have been marked out as special. It may have had Roman stonework, as Gelling suggests (Gelling 1977, 9 – 10), but this may have been a visible marker of an invisible quality. This will explain why two springs which are close had different names, such as Bedfont and Stanwell, and why the spring at Boarhunt was a **funta* while the more copious one at nearby Offwell Farm was just a *wielle* (Cole 1985, 6; Coates 1989, 36). Incidentally, a Christian church was built at Boarhunt, not at Offwell Farm.

The place.

In Chapter 4 an attempt was made to analyse the facts at each **funta* site, for example of both a British and an Anglo-Saxon presence, to see what sort of a place a **funta* might have been. This produced statistics and figures which are informative and indicative, but nevertheless need to be interpreted. For example, in Table 4.2, (Early Anglo-Saxon evidence and **funta* sites), Cheshunt, Funthams and Chadshunt are all tabulated as having Anglo-Saxon evidence within 5km, but when the evidence itself is considered, it is obvious that these sites cannot be equated. Within 5km of Cheshunt, the only evidence is of two sunken-featured buildings and pottery, a small domestic settlement probably dating to the late sixth or seventh century (Cowie and Blackmore 2008, 16 – 19), but as set out on Table 4.2 this appears to be as convincing as the large amount of varied evidence in the vicinity of Funthams, where sites at Gunthorpe, New Fletton and Orton Hall Farm testify to a fairly dense settlement with a range of agricultural procedures (Patrick et al 2007; NMR; Mackreth 1996) and near Chadshunt at Burton Dassett, where 35 inhumations and goods were excavated, and 10 km away at Alveston where a large mixed-rite cemetery, with goods which included high-status material, was excavated (NMR; Carver 2009). By the end of Chapter 3, it had been established that each site must be assessed individually, and so it appears in the Tables. Further research is needed into what has been excavated near the sites, although this is often hampered where excavation reports have not been fully published. A **funta* was not always in the same type of place.

Table 4.4 sets out the evidence for the suggestion that a **funta* may be in a liminal location, between areas of different cultures, and all sites have some evidence of this characteristic. Of the seven sites near areas of

primary Germanic settlement, Tolleshunt and Wansunt do not show such convincing evidence for a boundary location, whereas the other five sites all have good evidence for this feature. Of the seven sites near areas of secondary Germanic settlement, all show convincing evidence of such a position. It may be that the use of a **funta* as some sort of a boundary marker was not at first universal, but gradually came into more common usage as settlement spread across the land and the Old English language began to develop. The only evidence of warfare between the two parties anywhere near a **funta* site is in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) *sub anno* 485, when Aelle fought against the "Welsh" near *mercredesburna,* which was near Bedfordwell. Evidence of warfare is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (A) *sub anno* 552, as a battle at *Searo byrg* (Salisbury or Old Sarum), and Anglo-Saxon settlement nearby is indicated by the cemeteries at Petersfinger and Harnham, but this is 12 km downstream from Teffont and Fovant. Further study of dykes as boundary markers may prove informative, but it has been shown that dating dykes, such as Wansdyke or Bokerley Dyke, is fraught with pitfalls.

It is possible from what has been discussed above to suggest what type of place a **funta* was. It would have had water of some description, most probably a spring, or a place where springs were a feature, like Funtington or Bonhunt, or perhaps a pool in a hollow, like Bedfont, Bedfordwell or Bedmond. It may have lain close to, or on the edge of, an area where there had been significant activity during the last phase of Imperial authority, particularly agriculture (Table 4.1a). It would be more likely to be nearer to a British area, as shown by at least one other pre-English place-name within 5km, than to an area where an early Saxon presence existed (Tables 4.3a, b). It may be that, as well as choosing a place with special ritual significance, naming it a **funta* began to signify a boundary, or at least a liminal zone, and this is in fact signified in the name of Teffont, *tēo* + **funta,* "boundary spring", and in the situations of Bedfont and Pitchfont, which lie so demonstrably between British and Saxon areas.

<u>The word.</u>

It would be quite easy to leave the matter there, and state that a **funta* was a boundary marker at a watery place, but there are other facts to consider. Since the word is a Latin loan-word, not known in the homelands, it is reasonable to suppose that it was first used by the British. Since it then developed into an element in the Old English place-naming system, it is also reasonable to suppose that the Anglo-Saxons adopted it from the British, and since it is known that the Anglo-Saxons were during the fifth and sixth centuries to all intents and purposes illiterate, it is then reasonable to suppose that it was used in a situation where language was spoken. This implies some sort of discourse between the two peoples, which may or may not have been entirely peaceful.

It has been shown that **funta* sites are often nearer to evidence of British occupation than early Anglo-Saxon areas. This may also reinforce the notion that the word was a British choice, as in some cases the Anglo-Saxons would have been obliged to travel further to the **funta* than the British, if this were a place where a meeting had been arranged, and

meeting was necessary for spoken communication. If the Germanic-speaking people had requested a British presence at a watery place, they would perhaps have used a Germanic word for that place. Other Latin elements in local names have been included in this study as far as possible, but a mapping of the relationship of **funta* to Latin-derived names only may be useful, such as suggested above for *camp.* A more careful study of *wīchām* names would also be helpful, as this may show areas of British authority (Gelling 1967; 1977; Chapter 4, 182 – 3).

However, the location of a **funta* clearly between areas of British and Anglo-Saxon territory is evidenced at only a few sites. Bedfont and Bedfordwell are two **funta* sites which lie between an area of British territory and an area of primary Germanic settlement. A medial position is arguable at Funtley and at Boarhunt, in south-west Hampshire (Area 3), between the known early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Droxford on the Meon and the suggested British coastal area where names in *port* and *ōra* abound. The other **funta* sites in Area 3, Havant and Funtington, are likewise north of the same coastal area, but the cemetery at Apple Down appears to indicate secondary settlement north of Funtington, and the cemetery on Camp Down near Havant also appears to be secondary. Here a layer of meaning "agreed boundary between two peoples" may be posited.

Some **funta* sites are obviously not situated between British and Anglo-Saxon areas, so the word in these cases has no clear sense of "boundary". At the western edge of the area in the country where the **funta* sites occur, it is more difficult to be clear as to the interface between British and Germanic people. This may be due to the late (seventh-century) Anglo-Saxon expansion in this area. For example, the closest evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence near Chadshunt is at Burton Dassett, which also has a pre-English name and so is taken as evidence of the presence of both peoples. Also, although to the west of Chadshunt the territory of the Hwicce and further west to Wales appears to have been British, the important cemeteries at Alveston and Wasperton are also to the west, so there is no obvious territorial division. Wasperton has fifth-century burials which is confusing. These cemeteries, and that at Stretton–on-Fosse further south and west, indicate an early mingling of cultures, with, at Wasperton, evidence of people of high status buried with Germanic artefacts. There is no reason, however, to use this as evidence against the notion of a **funta* as a site of agreement: the agreement could have been as peaceful as the cultural amalgamation appears to have been. A layer of meaning "general agreement" may now be posited.

It is also to be supposed that a **funta,* as a watery place, had a ritual significance for both peoples. The importance for Celtic ritual practice of watery places is well-evidenced, as described briefly in Chapter 2, 30 – 2. For Germanic peoples also watery places could be sites where articles were deposited as part of a ritual practice. Unfortunately, archaeologists have so far found no evidence of deposition of any type, or indeed of Roman or Saxon presence of any type, at a **funta* (Gelling pers com. 28. 7. 2004; 12. 8. 2005). It may be that a **funta* was not the type of watery place where deposits were allowed, or even appropriate. The identification of sites with special, invisible qualities would, perhaps, not be possible for the modern, scientific, practical mind, as it was for an earlier society. Landscape

anomalies, or points of energy, would have been noted and marked as special by persons of intuition or training, then accepted by the people (Valk 2007). It would be useful to use computer imaging systems to investigate the landscape around a **funta* site, A viewshed or other 3-D imaging may reveal features not obvious from the ground.

One interpretation, therefore, of the significance of a **funta,* may be that it was a place with certain unseen qualities where British and Anglo-Saxons met to establish an agreement, whether this was in peace or as a consequence of warfare. In the fifth and sixth centuries such an agreement in this country would most probably relate to territory, as suggested by the breaking of treaty terms (*rede*) by Aelle, and it may be that here, near modern Eastbourne, the *burna* of the *mercredesburna* was neither the Cuckmere, nor yet the *bourne* at Eastbourne, but the watery place known to the British as the **funta* at Bedfordwell, a **funta*, a *burna* and later a *wielle.*

It must be stressed that each site must be considered individually, as established at the end of Chapter 3, but nevertheless the use of **funta* indicates a face-to-face meeting of people and the borrowing of a word.

Borrowing and loan-words.

Borrowing is a well-known linguistic phenomenon, occurring in different ways in different situations (Coates 2007a). Wherever languages are in contact, there will be exchange between them at various levels. The lowest intensity of contact will enable simple lexical borrowing to take place, and this may include place-names. Borrowing may not occur where the borrowing language already has an equivalent word for what is meant, but, on the other hand, an equivalent word from a different language may be used for certain, perhaps social, reasons: a borrowing will have a projected gain for the borrower, either a lexical gain or a gain in status (McMahon 1994, 201). If there is a stigma attached to using a word, then borrowing will be avoided; borrowing must be risk-free for the borrower. Borrowing also takes place between dialects, and at the level of the idiolect. Thus borrowing occurs between contact languages where the borrower stands to gain, in status, lexis or convenience. Items of basic vocabulary, which may include natural phenomena, are less likely to be borrowed, and then only where there is no question of status or prestige. Lexical borrowing requires only a limited amount of bilingualism (McMahon 1994, 204).

It cannot be demonstrated at the present time that Germanic speakers would draw any benefit of status by using a word derived from *fontāna.* There is no proof that areas of territory which appear to remain in British hands during the incursus show that British authority was paramount, even in such areas as that surrounding *Verulamium* or Baldock, or that the lack of evidence of Anglo-Saxon presence demonstrates that these people were forbidden to come there. Likewise, it appears that no loss of status would accompany the Germanic use of a word deriving from *fontāna*; there was no risk attached to the term, and apparently no equivalent word in the place-name system which would express its meaning, and therefore it was only a lexical gain. It would appear that, especially in the forms of Germanic speech used in the part of the country

where **funta* names occur, there was no word for whatever a **funta* was, and so it may be reasoned that the word had layers of meaning other than merely "watery place", as suggested above, and that the term continued to be used in the Old English place-name system in this area beyond the fifth century and into the period of secondary settlement.

Similar situations may be described in other cases of lexical, and place-name, borrowing. Old English borrowed the Brittonic word *cumb* into the place-name terminology, to designate a valley of a certain shape which was not found in the homelands, and was a valley which rose to a bowl-shaped end, a sort of cul-de-sac which would not allow an easy through-route. This type of valley had no name in the Old English place-name vocabulary, which used the terms *denu* or *slæd* for different valley forms to which the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed (Gelling and Cole 2000, 103 – 6, 114 – 5, 141; Coates 2007a, 177). The borrowed item *cumb*, like **funta*, came to be used as a generic in place-name formation. The Old English place-name system was very precise in its use of topographic terms. Such borrowings have taken place much later: for example the word *volcano* had to be borrowed.

As far as status is concerned, it has been noted that where there are groups of unequal political standing following warfare, a political ascendancy which imposes its own language always shows an impact from the language of the conquered (Coates 2007a, 186). In considering the situation in fifth- and sixth-century Britain, Coates (ibid) takes this to indicate that there were no British-speakers left. However, this statement could also be used as evidence that, since the impact of British speech had very little impact on Old English, the situation was not one of conquering and conquered, but of assimilation of language as well as of culture. If the people who spoke a British tongue wished of their own volition to adapt their language, as well as their culture, there is no reason to suppose there was any obstacle. However, the difficulty still remains of the virtual lack of British words in Old English.

If the British speakers saw that it was to their advantage to adopt the language of the speakers of Germanic, it appears likewise that the Germanic speakers stood to gain in some way by accepting and using a word derived from *fontāna.* It appears that this word filled a gap in their existing place-name vocabulary, which suggests that what it signified did not exist in the homelands, just as a *cumb* did not. There was no diminution of status for them in using a word which signified something new. Since they were used to watery places, and had various words for them, this new word had an additional connotation or layer of meaning in their very specific place-name vocabulary.

<u>The place-name element and its use.</u>

The word *fontāna* would have been adopted, and adapted, into Old English either directly from Latin, or via Brittonic, and presumably would have had a particular significance. To begin with, the use of *fontāna* would have had meaning for the British, but perhaps not for the Germanic speakers. After the initial use of the word to designate a place which was marked for both the British and the Anglo-Saxons, the language in general use in the country became, of course, the beginning of Old English

(Chapter 2). The seven **funta* sites which lie near secondary English settlement (table 4.2) may be evidence that the place-name element continued in use, perhaps even into the eighth century, before which no Anglo-Saxon type of settlement is known at *Verulamium*, and nearby Bedmond may have been named at this time. The phonological developments which transformed *fontāna* into * *funta* are outlined by Jackson (1953, 273, 295, 676, 680), whose proposed dating suggests that its acceptance into Old English was early. It is quite feasible to suggest that the word which became **funta* found its place in the Old English place-name vocabulary and was used creatively (Gelling pers com. 6. 2. 2008), but **funta* is an Old English word which could not have been used prior to the development of this language. Its combination with other elements is significant (Chapter 4 and below). No **funta* name is combined with another British element, which suggests that it was soon taken over by the Anglo-Saxons. If it had not been useful, it would have disappeared.

The analysis of the terms which qualify **funta* reinforces the suggestion that it had a specific meaning. Seven names (33.3%) have a personal name as qualifier. Chadshunt, Tolleshunt, Urchfont and Wansunt have names in which the genitive singular ending is –es, and Fovant and Havant have names in which the genitive singular ending is –an. Pitchfont appears to be named for *Pīc* (Gover et al 1934, 324; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18), so the ending –es must have become amalgamated with the final consonant to become [tʃ]. Unfortunately, it cannot be said for certain that these are all names of actual local leaders, merely people who were important for some reason in the local collective consciousness.

However, the statement of possession by the use of the genitive indicates that these **funta* places were significant and worth marking with the name of someone important. The use of a personal name is common in the Old English place-name system, and it may be assumed that some, at least, of these named people were real and local, not ancestors or gods like Grim or Woden. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* even names places retrospectively, and perhaps imaginatively, for people of importance: *Port* came to the Portsmouth area (ASC [A] *sub anno* 501) and *Wihtgar* to the Isle of Wight (ASC [A] *sub anno* 514). In the corpus of **funta* names, Tolleshunt is the only one where the eponymous Toll is named elsewhere, in neighbouring Tollesbury. Chadshunt is interesting, as the earliest recorded use of the name is in a twelfth-century copy of a tenth-century charter (S 544, AD 949), as *æt cædeles funtan*, the diminutive of Chad being **ceadel*, and perhaps here conflated with St Chad, first bishop of Lichfield in the late seventh century. Whoever these people were, the use of a personal name stamps ownership, and this means a place was worth owning. A **funta* site was important enough to be owned, whatever the Anglo-Saxons thought the word indicated or signified.

Another four names have qualifiers which demonstrate that they were being used in some way by someone for a specific purpose. At Boarhunt there was some sort of fortification or enclosure. It is tempting to suggest, but at the moment impossible to confirm, that this enclosed space is still represented by Manor Farm, within whose fences the spring-fed pond still features. Mottisfont was significant as a place of assembly, and Bonhunt appears to have been a site of some religious or ritual significance,

the first element deriving from *bān,* "bone", as many bones have been excavated here (see Appendix 2). Teffont is named the "boundary spring" and figures as such in charters such as S 326 AD 860 *be tefunte.* If any connotation of a boundary still resided in the use of **funta,* this is a tautological usage and is discussed below. Of the other ten names, seven have accompanying elements which are landscape markers, one has *cestre* (Cheshunt), one is simplex (Funthams) and the other is Funtington, which is still under discussion.

The use of personal names and elements referring to human activity as qualifiers signal a labelling of **funta* sites as important to the local community and of a significance which lasted beyond the initial use of the British word. Of the seven **funta* sites which have personal names as qualifiers, five are mentioned in Domesday, and thus became manorial centres. These are Chadshunt, Tolleshunt, Fovant, Urchfont and Havant. Of the four **funta* names with qualifiers indicating human use, all are mentioned in Domesday. (The other three **funta* sites in Domesday are Chalfont, Bedfont and Funtley.) Thus of the 12 **funta* sites in Domesday, 9 have qualifiers indicating that the site retained a measure of local importance, from being chosen originally as significant enough to be a **funta* named as a place of some human value or use, to being listed as a manorial centre in 1086, a distinction which lasted for more than 500 years. At some sites, for example, Boarhunt and Urchfont, there is a Manor Farm nearby, and though names change through the ages, this could be investigated.

It may also be mentioned that all personal names used as qualifiers are Germanic. Given the almost complete obliteration of the British language (Chapter 2) this would not seem surprising, except that British personal names do appear in other place-names, for example Chertsey, and also in the names of the royal house of the West Saxons, for example Cerdic, Cædwalla etc. This may be interpreted as betokening a situation in which the leaders of society found it politic to proclaim a legitimacy of position by amalgamation of people, but in the lives of ordinary peasant farmers no such advertisement was thought necessary in the gradual ascendancy of the Germanic incomers. Any British folk either took on Germanic names or opted to live in places some of which were later known as Walton, Walcot etc. **funta* sites became Germanic like the rest of Anglo-British culture and language.

<u>Recapitulation, the answers.</u>

All discussion of the development of the element **funta* invites the conclusion that a site which was named as a **funta* was significant enough to signal a place which was in some way different in the surrounding territory, and notable enough to retain its importance through the early medieval period.

<u>The answers</u>.

What was a **funta*?

Only what is significant to the name-giver is used in a name, only what marks out a place as different from other places which may appear similar in the eyes of other people. To begin with, the Latin word *fontāna*

designated, as far as is known, a spring or a watery place. This word was known to speakers of Latin in the final phase of Roman authority, when communities coalesced locally and, as is the normal human way, leaders emerged in such communities. The form of the word may have begun to change, as outlined in Chapter 2. When people of a different culture wished to settle, either after a battle which they won, or more peacefully, they heard and used the word to refer to a particular place in the locality. The word may by then have acquired an extra layer of meaning, perhaps to do with a boundary location, perhaps to do with ritual taking place there, or even, perhaps, to do with some as yet unrecognised aspect of the intercourse between the two peoples which has still to be thought of. It has been suggested that the notion of "sacred" may be a universal category, and initially "directly related to concepts of liminality and boundaries" (Valk 2007, 205). Perhaps this was why a site was chosen in the first place, because of notions of sacredness and liminality, a suitable place for a solemn agreement. In any case, it was this word which was used. Thus the word now signified "watery place of special significance".

Why did it need a new name?

As the word changed its form, becoming an Old English word rather than a British one, it gradually acquired new layers of meaning in the emerging Old English language, and it may be that the watery significance paled before the special nature of the site. When a qualifier was added, it would become a "special place labelled as ours, which incidentally is at a watery place". Gradually the place-name became referential, semantically void as most place-names are after some time, indicating a place rather than what goes on there. Such a phenomenon is known to have taken place with the British word *aßon* "river", which is why we have so many rivers called Avon today. If there were a layer of meaning indicating a boundary, that also would have become less important, and it was necessary to add *tēo* to **funta* when the name of Teffont was used. The watery significance seems to have continued in some way, since all **funta* sites seem to have been near a watery place, even though this is not always obvious today, and in fact it is in some places difficult to perceive any connection with water at all, for example at Funthams or Tolleshunt. By the time the names of places such as Bedfordwell and Funthams are recorded, it was necessary to add *welle* as an element, suggesting that either a spring was still in evidence or in the local consciousness. Such situations lead to tautological naming. It needed a new name because it was a new concept, and the name developed alongside the concept.

What was the significance of the element?

It was a sign of the coming together of British and Anglo-Saxon. The word **funta* was the signifier, the signified, the place it designated, and the nature of the sign was the two combined, a significance which had not existed until it was needed, and which changed as time progressed. It was an insular loan because the situation had not come about elsewhere. The sign has other resonances. It tells a little about the way in which Britain became England, at least in the part of the country where **funta* sites are found.

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This interpretation is offered according to the information available at the time of writing. It is hypothetical, for "…the best we can hope to do is to construct hypotheses" (Higham 1992, 209). It is the nature of the world, and all in it, to change, and knowledge is no exception, so other interpretations and hypotheses are bound to evolve. This is no bad thing, but it is no reason to avoid being daring enough to make a first move. "An interim statement should be preferred to no statement at all" (Welch 1983, 281).

Appendix 1: gazetteer of sites.

Area 1 Wiltshire.

This area has three sites, Urchfont, Teffont and Fovant. Urchfont is just to the north of Salisbury Plain, looking across the valley and south towards the Plain. Teffont lies 25km, and Fovant 30km, to the south of Urchfont, across Salisbury Plain and the valley of the Wylye, then over the high ground to the valley of the Nadder, where Teffont lies on the north side of the valley, just uphill from the left bank of the Nadder, and Fovant lies by the right bank, to the south. Their respective streams flow into the Nadder. The Nadder and the Wylye flow roughly parallel west to east; at Wilton the Wylye joins the Nadder which then flows on to join the Avon at Salisbury. It can be anachronistic to discuss the late Roman/early Anglo-Saxon period in Britain in terms of the modern county boundaries, and nowhere is this more so than in Wiltshire. The earliest reference to the *Wilsæte*, the dwellers by the Wylye, is in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, MS A, *sub anno* 800, when they met the men of the Hwicce at *Cynemæresforda*

Þa mette hine Weoxstan aldorman mid Wilsætum

and defeated them:

wilsætan namon sige

and later *sub anno* 878 when they joined Alfred before the battle of Edington (ASC, 58, 76), but since the text was not written until the late ninth century, the earlier reference may have been named with hindsight. The sites are here considered together although the fact that they are all in modern Wiltshire is a mere convenience, and insignificant to the present discussion; they are grouped together as they share certain features as boundary locations.

General Background up to the area to the post-Roman era.

The topography of modern Wiltshire varies greatly (Draper 2006, 4). The area of south Wiltshire here under consideration is one of chalk upland which offered difficult terrain to early human occupation, cut by more accessible fertile river valleys. Some parts of the upland were used for animal husbandry and cereal production in pre-Roman, Roman and early Anglo-Saxon times, when the water table was higher than it is today. The area was of a fragmented political nature. Prior to AD 43 the region lay divided between the territories of several tribal groups, each with its own centre, probably continued by the Roman administration into *civitates* (Fig 18). To the north and north-west lay the territory of the Dobunni with a cantonal capital at Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum),* to the south and south-west lay the territory of the Durotriges with a capital at Dorchester (*Durnovaria*), to the north-east lay the territory of the Atrebates with a capital at Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*) and to the east lay the Belgæ with a capital at Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*). There may have been a further sub-group, the Cornovii, in the north, as Wanborough was named *Durocornovium.* Coin groups testify to the fragmented nature of the territory (Moorhead T 2001, 86). Prior to the development of the Roman *civitates* some of the so-called capitals may have been small settlement centres of tribal importance, to which the Roman authorities gave administrative status.

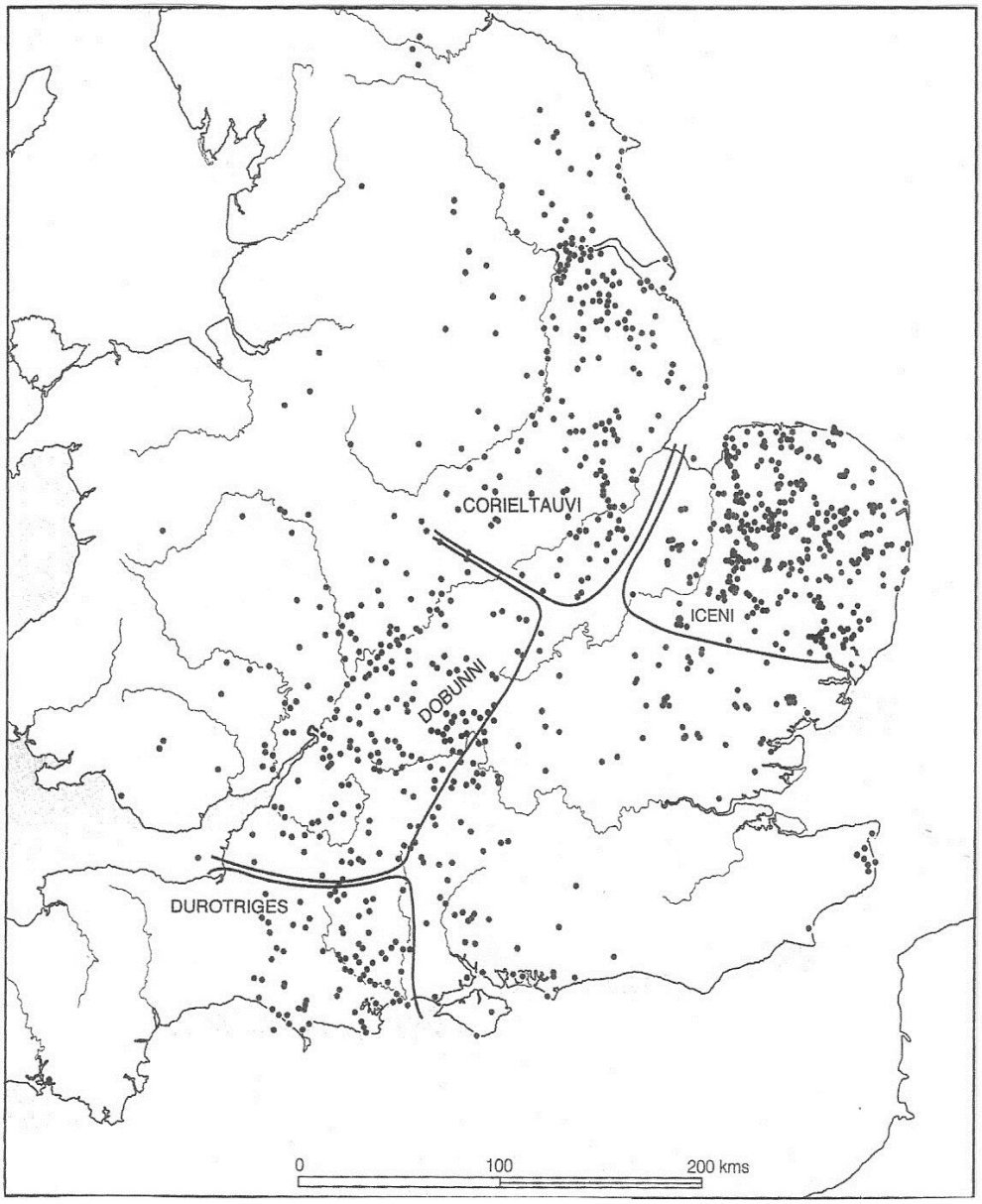


Figure 18 Distributions of the coins of the four peripheral tribes (source CCCI 2003).

Taken from Cunliffe (2005) p 180 fig 8.2.

The tribal boundaries are unclear, and suggestions vary. The territory of the Belgae may have stretched as far west as Selwood, and as far north as Wansdyke, to adjoin that of the Dobunni and the Durotriges, and Durotrigan influence may have extended as far north as the Wylye valley. This would mean that Teffont and Fovant were in Durotrigan territory, south of Salisbury Plain and the Wylye, and Urchfont in Dobunnic territory north of the Plain (Fig 19). However, coin evidence suggests that the Wylye was a boundary between the territory of the Atrebates to the north and that of the Durotriges

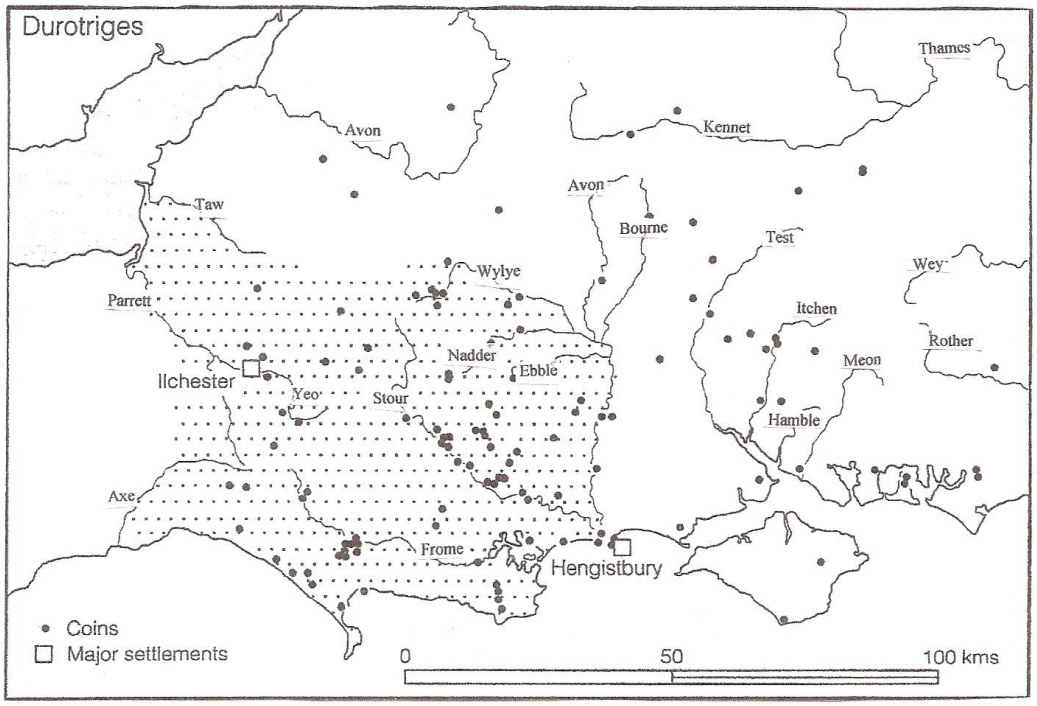


Fig 19 The territory of the Durotriges.

Adapted from Cunliffe (2005) p 181 fig 8.3.

to the south (Cunliffe 2005, 178, 181 map). To the south-east Bokerley Dyke may have marked the boundary between the Durotriges and the Belgae (Eagles 2001, 213). Earthworks such as Bokerley Dyke and the Wansdykes further north are notoriously difficult to date, and in any case may have been refurbished as the occasion demanded. So, in AD 43, the region which is modern Wiltshire was a divided area in which lay no tribal capitals, with no internal cohesion and therefore unlikely to have provided a precursor in Roman times to the later county. It was an area through which the Roman army had to pass to reach any centre of tribal importance.

As the army advanced westward and roads were built, small nucleated settlements developed at route crossing places. An example is Mildenhall (*Cunetio*), which lies at the point where Margary 53 from Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*) to Bath crosses Margary 44 from old Sarum (*Sorviodunum*) to Wanborough (*Durocornovium*) and meets Margary 43 from Winchester

(*Venta Belgarum*) to Wanborough. This may have previously been an LPRIA border market for the Dobunni and Atrebates (Cunliffe 2005, 192). It was necessary for the army to cross country with temporary summer camps, withdrawing in winter, and a military presence is discernible through to the end of the third century. During the fourth century the distinction between civil and military became blurred and Roman civil servants were called *milites*. It often fell to the army to collect, and police, taxes in kind, such as grain for shipment abroad (*annona*). Such collection is believed to be the reason why *Cunetio* was fortified with a strong stone defensive wall with bastions at a date post AD 360 (Corney 2001,18) and also the reason for the wide distribution of fourth- and early fifth-century belt fittings from many sites in Wiltshire (Griffiths 2001, 68) as no military activity is suggested, although the area was potentially within reach of Irish pirates from the Bristol Channel. The troops at *Cunetio* may have been *comitatenses* as the coins found are of bronze which was used for army pay (Moorhead 2001, 95). *Cunetio* was also an early market centre for locally-produced Savernake ware. No settlements of urban status are known in the area of modern Wiltshire (Corney 2001, 35).

Not all land in the area was suitable for villa-type estates. Across the Marlborough Downs and in north Wiltshire extensive and palatial villas have been excavated, such as the site at Castle Copse, Great Bedwyn, where a large courtyard villa, possibly the only such in Wiltshire, was excavated in 1983 – 4, with evidence of rebuilding and a new hypocaust in the fourth century (Hostetter and Howe 1997; Walters 2001, 128, 131; Draper 2006, 12 - 13). Water transport was available from these estates to the Kennet, to the collection centre at *Cunetio*, and thence to the Thames. Villa estates were also established along the Avon valley in east Wiltshire. On Salisbury Plain there is evidence of substantial rural houses with some large Romano-British settlements (Walters 2001, 141), perhaps the attached property of villas at a distance and producing grain for the villa economy, as at that time the water table is believed to have been higher thus enabling more profitable agricultural activity on the Downs, although the availability of water transport needed for surplus produce is unclear. At Charlton Down on Salisbury Plain there is evidence of a substantial area, some 25 ha, of agricultural activity, where a pre-Roman field system with a shrine was continued and developed in Roman times, with a large number of buildings and a dam. A plaque of Minerva, with other artefacts, is evidence of a Romano-British shrine. This area of agricultural activity was occupied as well as worked, and was at its most extensive during the second to fourth centuries. Cereal cultivation appears to have been well-organised and intensive. There was intensive cultivation at Upavon and Compton as well as at Charlton. The whole area was of great agricultural value (McOmish et al 2002, 89 – 94).

In late Roman times the land to the west of modern Wiltshire was more economically stable and wealthier, with some rich villa estates, such as Chedworth (Gloucs), continuing to function through the period, though the Severn estuary was subject to attacks from across the Irish Sea (Fulford 2006). To the east of Britain the economy was less stable and vulnerable to coastal attacks by Saxon "pirates" along the shores of the North Sea and the English Channel. The position of the area of modern Wiltshire between east and west may account in part for the apparently piecemeal, gradual Germanic incursus

here, with early settlement to the east, a stronger economy to the west and the Thames to the north and with an east-west divide noticeable in terms of burial and settlement evidence. There is no evidence for any catastrophic end to Roman administration, nor of social unrest, more a gradual cultural change in which the non-villa estates were the most stable units (Draper 2006, 31 – 55). The north, west and also possibly north-east of Wiltshire were colonised, it is believed, by Saxons from the Upper Thames valley. The authors of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, writing after more than three centuries, recorded battles north of the Wansdyke during the sixth century, *sub annos* 556 and 592. It appears that control of this northern part of Wiltshire was disputed between the Gewissae from the north and the British, perhaps until the mid-seventh century, then between the Gewissae, now in control of Wessex under their new name, West Saxons, and the Mercian kingdom to the north of the Thames (Eagles 2001; Semple 2003).

The barrow burials in the area around Avebury appear to signify a new controlling presence here, the earliest, at Overton Down to the south of Avebury, of sixth- or possibly even late fifth-century date, the burials continuing through the seventh century. During the late seventh century they became more imposing in terms of landscape setting and route proximity, and more ostentatious in terms of accompaniments, perhaps proclaiming the presence and authority of an élite group now in power here, and towards the end of the century there are prestigious female burials, perhaps establishing, or indeed claiming, ancestral territorial rights. There is an early eighth-century female burial at Roundway (7) south of Avebury (Semple 2003).

The south-east of the county appears to have been colonised in the late fifth and sixth centuries by a separate group whose cemeteries show no evidence of cremation and with distinctive weapon assemblages (Stoodley pers com), perhaps second-generation Saxons (Hawkes 1986, 78). This earlier penetration, with riverine settlement, seems to have been up the Avon from Mudeford to Salisbury/Old Sarum, as fifth-century material has been recovered at Breamore (on the Hampshire side of the Avon) near Charford where the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records a battle *sub anno* 519, and at Petersfinger near Salisbury. Advance was then possibly north into the Bourne valley, where evidence at Collingbourne Ducis suggests an early date (Pine 2001,114), though some early artefacts appear in later contexts, for example an equal-arm brooch (Stoodley pers com). The interesting cemetery at Winterbourne Gunner has a row-grave layout, unusual for the area and period, and an unaccompanied inhumation here has been carbon-dated to the early-mid-fifth century (Eagles 2001, 215; Stoodley pers com). A Frankish-type francisca dates probably to the third quarter of the fifth century, though this may indicate the earlier presence of a mercenary in local employ or a settler who had seen service elsewhere, as there is no evidence that any part of Wiltshire was in Saxon control or occupancy by the mid-fifth-century (Eagles 2001, 215; 2004, 236; 2005).

The cemetery at Market Lavington has material which may date to the late fifth century (Williams and Newman 2006, 173) and is the most westerly of the early Wiltshire sites, but if the community here were of a military nature, that is not reflected in the burial rite (Eagles 2001, 220). The area of Saxon penetration appears to halt, until the seventh century, on a line north-south on which lie Market Lavington, and Teffont and Fovant in the Nadder

valley (and see below) as no burials earlier than the seventh century have been found west of those sites, whereas to the east there is evidence of sixth-century occupation. By AD 675 all modern Wiltshire appears to have passed under Saxon control, whether by conquest, treaty or marriage alliance (Eagles 2005). The piecemeal western advance of the Saxon settlers reflects a period of fluctuation, not steady progress, probably following *Mons Badonicus* (Eagles 2005, comment by Professor Hinton during discussion).

It is in the context of these pieces of evidence from the late Roman/early Saxon times that the three **funta* sites will be considered. They all appear highly significant in this context and may inform understanding of other **funta* sites.

Figure 20 East Wansdyke, where it crosses the A345 between Marlborough and Pewsey, looking west.

Gazetteer for General Background

NGR	Source	Details
SP020 010	PNA	Cirencester
SY680 900	PNA	Dorchester
SU620 620	PNA	Silchester
SU210 830	PNA	Wanborough
ST800 500	PNA	Selwood
ST990 325	OS143	Teffont
SU005 285	OS130	Fovant
SU042 574	OS 130	Urchfont
SU104 700	OS 157	Avebury
SU143 295	OS 130	Salisbury
SU160 180	OS OL22	Breamore
SU165 292	OS 130	Petersfinger
SU180 350	OS 130	Winterbourne Gunner
SU215 715	OS 157	*Cunetio*
SU244 535	OS 131	Collingbourne Ducis
SU280 620	Scott 1993, 202	Castle Copse R villa
SU485 293	OS132	Winchester

Urchfont

Fig 21 The font at Urchfont.

The site at present and its earliest name:

Urchfont is a well-kept modern village, a dormitory for people working in Devizes. The spring, known proudly locally as the font, lies in an extremely narrow valley overlooked by the church, whose records list John le Funt as vicar in 1317. Today the spring is very meagre and has to be searched for, though never known to fail (Fig 21), and it may be that in the early centuries of the Christian era it was more copious as the water table was higher. Domesday lists three mills here in the holding of the Church of St Mary at Winchester, though where they may have been is unclear. The earliest recording of the name is *Ierchesfonte*, 1086, from the genitive of the personal name **Eohrīćes* + **funta* (Watts 2004, 639). Distances are measured from the font.

General background:

Probably situated in Dobunnic territory in the LPRIA, the area around Urchfont continued its rural identity into the Roman period. There are no urban settlements locally; the nearest small town is at Mildenhall (*Cunetio*) 22km to the north-east over an area of downland. To the south is the chalk upland of Salisbury Plain, to the north less abrupt slopes beyond which lies the Vale of Pewsey, and still further north, 10km to the north of Urchfont, runs Margary 53 from *Cunetio* west to Bath, close to Wansdyke (Fig 20).

In Roman times this was not an area of large villa-type holdings. Rural sites are to be found on Salisbury Plain, some with substantial masonry houses (Walters 2001,141). One such site is at Wilsford, 5km to the south-east, where traces of a settlement include a bracelet, brooch, vessel, knife and spear, and another is at Charlton, 5km to the east-south-east, where the evidence from the

early Iron Age to the fifth century AD includes a substantial building further down the slope. The settlement at Charlton extended over 25ha, with over 200 structures (Field 1999, 31). The 1:25 000 map of the area (OS 130) shows that this northern part of the Plain is intersected by numerous ditches and earthworks from prehistoric and historic periods, though lower down the slope such features have been ploughed out. These may have been field boundaries, animal pens or ditches for water retention. During the early Iron Age the clay-with-flints overlying the chalk downs had been brought into cultivation, with hulled barley and spelt wheat grown here; spelt in particular is suitable for this area as it can be sown in winter and provides an earlier crop. Cultivation appears to have been well-organised and intensive, and three driers of probable fourth-century date indicate a large volume of cereal production and the possibility that new crops were being produced. The manure needed for the crops was provided by sheep, which again can survive well on the downland as they do not need so much surface water in the soil as cattle (Cunliffe 1993, 185 – 7). This agricultural practice continued into the Roman era, and there is evidence of water management which was necessary to support an intensive level of production, both for growing cereal crops and for watering the animals. This water management is evidenced by a dam 60m wide which created a reservoir of 1ha in extent, and the estate was obviously a valuable agricultural holding in the local Romano-British economy (Field 1999,31; McOmish et al 2002, 89 - 94). It is unclear how the surplus grain was transported from the site, but water levels were higher at this time so streams may have been available.

The closest evidence of Romano-British settlement to Urchfont is some 3km to the south-west at Market Lavington, where excavation showed traces of prehistoric activity with artefactual evidence of late Romano-British presence plus a scatter of earlier Roman material, and flue and box tiles which suggest a substantial building nearby, with pottery fineware and glass, tiles and fragments found in Saxon contexts (below) (Williams and Newman 2006,171). At Potterne, 4km north-west, stone roof tiles, lead and bronze fragments, coin and pottery were found (Scott 1993, 205), and 2.5km to the south-west fragments of painted wall-plaster were found at Easterton (Foster 2001,169). At Littleton Panell Manor House, 4km to the south-west, a roughly-paved floor was excavated in 1941 – 5, with pink wall-plaster, hearth, cooking stoves and samian ware with potters' names (VCH Wilts 1957, 1, 120). At Charlton St Peter, 6km south-east, on the edge of Salisbury Plain pennant sandstone, box flue tiles and third- to fourth-century pottery were found near the rural agricultural site (above) (Scott 1993, 199). Substantial villa sites are further away, for example, 10km to the east, at Manningford Bruce, there was a large courtyard villa with tessellated flooring dating to the late third or early fourth century (Scott 1999,204; WAM 82,1988, 84 - 91), but this is in the Avon valley where the economy was different from that near Urchfont, and further down the valley at Enford, 14km from Urchfont, a villa boasted glass and tiles. Unfortunately little dating evidence is available. The Enford/Compton complex appears to be similar to that at Charlton, with the residential buildings in the Avon valley and the agricultural area on the high ground to the west, connected by a valley, now dry, whose previous stream may have provided water transport.

The only industry appears to have been the production of Savernake ware in Savernake Forest, which began prior to AD 43 and was stimulated by the presence of the Roman army (Timby 2001,73 – 84).

There is no evidence of Christianity in this part of Wiltshire at this time, which may be because after AD 313 this newly-official religion was connected with administration and urban life, not a feature of the locality. At Wayside Farm, Nursteed Road, Devizes, 5km to the north of Urchfont, Romano-British presence is indicated where, overlying a late Iron Age settlement of the third century BC to the first century AD, excavation showed a fourth- to fifth-century Romano-British settlement with deposits of a votive nature including a curse tablet, collar, spoon, iron objects, pottery fineware and animal bones including ox skulls which may be of ritual significance, (as elsewhere, Hamerow 2006), though an inhumation which was excavated indicated neither pagan nor Christian rite. A more extensive area of settlement is indicated by walls and ditches (Valentin and Robinson 2002). Nearby other finds have included coins, pottery and four inhumations, of which two were coffined, but no dating is offered. In 1714 a group of bronze *penates* in an urn were found in this area, and in 1699 "several hundred" Roman bronze coins in a pot were found, with urns, but no indication of date is given. There is also some evidence of pagan Romano-British religious activity, at Charlton Down where figures of Minerva, Mercury and a Genius were found (Robinson 2001,160 – 1) and at Potterne 5km west-north-west two bronze mounts were found near a spring, which may indicate a votive deposit (ibid 163). An important find is that at Urchfont itself, about 1km south of the font, across the valley and just under the brow of the hill as it slopes up to the Plain, where 15 Iron Age coins and 398 Roman coins were found. The latest Roman coins were of Theodosius II, 388 – 402. The site appears to be of cultic significance, perhaps a temple or shrine site, and was obviously visited for several centuries. Across the valley to the west, at Eastcroft Farm, 17 Roman coins were found, the latest 2 of which were of Arcadius, 383 – 408. (Eagles 2001,210; Moorhead 2001,99 – 100; Moorhead pers com; Robinson pers com).

The late Roman period:

Thus there is evidence of activity within the area near Urchfont in the late fourth and early fifth century, largely at the Romano-British agricultural sites on the northern edge of Salisbury Plain. All the settlements in this part appear to have been abandoned by the end of the fifth century, which could reflect the socio-political climate or the change in water levels (Field 1999, 34 – 5). At Nursteed road, Devizes, the Romano-British settlement continued to the fifth century, and at Market Lavington occupation continued to late Roman times. This was a rural area, busy about food production, away from the administration and politics of the late Empire.

The early Saxon period:

There is a marked lack of reported stray finds from this period in the area near Urchfont: an undated Saxon brooch was found at Wick Green south of

Devizes, and at Worton, 6km to the west, a late sixth-century saucer brooch was found, the most westerly find before the seventh century, though date of manufacture is no guarantee of date of loss (Eagles 2001, 219). However, important evidence is available from the site at Market Lavington 3km south-west of Urchfont, where an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery and adjoining settlement have been in part excavated, overlying the areas of previous Iron Age and Romano-British settlement. In the excavated area three sunken-featured buildings have been found whose purpose is unclear, and four post-holes which probably formed part of a larger structure extending beyond this area. Gullies, pits and ditches were found, with early Anglo-Saxon pottery, and stakeholes presumed to be early Anglo-Saxon. Clearer evidence comes from the cemetery which lay close to the settlement and where most graves were dug in the sixth century. There is a lack of fifth-century metalwork, and beads, pottery and textile finds also provide no conclusive evidence for a date as early as the late fifth century, although such a date is possible when comparison is made with other Wiltshire cemeteries (Eagles 2001, 217; Williams and Newman 2006, 87, 92, 111 – 117). Market Lavington is the most westerly of the early Anglo-Saxon sites in Wiltshire and marks the limit of the westward spread of Saxon culture until the seventh century. It is difficult to date military cemetery sites prior to the late sixth century, and at this site the evidence gives no clue as to any military significance: even though there are weapons in the graves these are most likely to be symbolic of status and of Germanic blood or cultural allegiance, and the arrangement of the graves provides additional information. The graves are arranged in two groups which are similar in date-range but dissimilar in accompaniments: the northern group has more weapons and female dress remains, showing more Germanic features, while the southern group is less materially wealthy, and includes the grave of a young female, separate from the group, whose prone position, severed humerus and north-west/south-east orientation may indicate an aberrant member of the community. This marked grouping differential suggests that there may have been two distinct groups of people living here, which may indicate either ethnic difference or family ranking. It may be that the site was a settlement established at the territorial limit, with a dominant Germanic group in a native area, or that Saxon overlordship had been acknowledged and Germanic rite now prevailed. (Härke 1993; Eagles 2001, 217; Williams and Newman 2006, 75). It is important to note that the settlement is at a boundary, and this is emphasised by the local OE place-name, 4km east, Marden, "boundary valley" (S478, AD 941) as shown by the first element *merc-*

Þanon anlang weges on Wiuelesforde, þanenup anlang Mercdene onne Stokebrok

Thus Urchfont lay in an area of early Saxon presence, near a boundary of ethnic, cultural or linguistic significance.

Gazetteer for Urchfont:

NGR	Source	Details
ST996 598	NMR-NAT-INV211629	Potterne R site
SU005 543	Scott 1993, 208	Littleton Panell R bldg
SU013 542	EHNMR655154	Grove Farm, Market Lavington
SU016 603	Valentin 2006	Nursteed Rd RB set
SU019 549	NMR-NATINV215388	Easterton R burial & set
SU026 557	Moorhead p/c	Eastcroft Farm coins
SU035 555	Moorhead p/c	Urchfont cultic site
SU042 574	OS 130	Urchfont font
SU089 538	NMR-NATINV215314	Wilsford RB set
SU089 524	NMR-NATINV215385 Smith 1999	Charlton RB set
SU090 510	Scott 1993,201	Enford pottery & hypocaust
SU100 560	Scott 1993, 199	Charlton St Peter R bldg
SU130 520	Scott 1993, 201	Compton R bldg
SU140 520	Scott 1993, 201	Enford bldg in valley
SU140 580	Scott 1993, 204	Manningford Bruce R bldg
SU215 715	OS 157	Cunetio

Teffont and Fovant

The sites at present and their earliest names:

These two villages lie close to each other on either side of the River Nadder, Teffont on the north (left) bank and Fovant on the south (right) bank. The springhead rising in the valley to the north of Teffont, which in AD1589 was the Spring Head, the spring of Teffont (Gover et al 1939,161) is at a distance of 5km from the spring and poolat the south end of Fovant valley (Figs 22 and 23). They are therefore taken together, since to take them singly would result in either duplication of material or an artificial division. All known sites of significant archaeological importance are on the left bank. This is probably because, to the south of the Nadder and close to Fovant, a very steep scarp runs west-east and even today presents a considerable barrier between the valleys of the Nadder and the Ebble. The high ground to the north of the Nadder valley is less steep and the terrain appears more suited to the requirements of Iron Age and Romano-British agricultural practice, and this is where almost all the known evidence is to be found.

The earliest recording of Teffont is S326 AD860 *be tefunte*, S730 AD964 *æt teofunten* from the elements *teo*, a boundary (cognate with OFris *tia*, a boundary), OE *tēon*, to draw, + **funta*, "boundary spring" (Ekwall 1960, 462; Watts 2004, 603). The earliest recorded spelling of Fovant is S364 AD 901 *fobbefunte, fobbanfuntan* from the personal name Fobba **+*funta*, the spring belonging to Fobba (Watts 2004, 238). Distances are measured from Springhead, Teffont and from the most southerly of the springs at Fovant.

General background:

The two sites lay in the northern part of the territory of the Durotriges in the LPRIA, but divided from the Wylye valley which is the assumed tribal boundary (Eagles 2004, 234; Cunliffe 2005, 181). In the area of high downland between the valleys of the Nadder and the Wylye there is evidence of Iron Age activity continuing into the Roman period (Fig 10). At Berwick St Leonard, 5km north-north-west of Teffont on Fonthill Down, an extensive Romano-British field system covered 28ha, datable by an Iron Age sword and Romano-British coins and sherds, but with no further dating evidence available. At Stockton earthworks, 3km north of Teffont near the Roman road, is an area of 25ha on the downs where enclosures and hut sites yielded Iron Age and Roman coins, brooches, pottery and also a Neolithic axe. It has been suggested that a villa was here but nothing luxurious is indicated, only settlement evidence (Scott 1993, 207). These two sites are larger than that excavated at Charlton Down near Urchfont, but with less available evidence. A ploughed-out field system of Iron Age or Roman date, 1km north of Teffont, is indicated by cropmarks, but dating in such situations in this area is difficult. At Bilbury Rings, 3km north-north-east of Teffont overlooking the Wylye valley, is a multivallate hillfort of 17 ha with evidence of Iron Age and Romano-British settlement.

Beyond the scarp on Fifield Down, 2km south of Fovant, and overlooking the Ebble valley, an Iron Age settlement which also yielded Roman finds of pottery, a brooch and coins was excavated. In Fovant itself

Figure 22 Teffont Springhead.

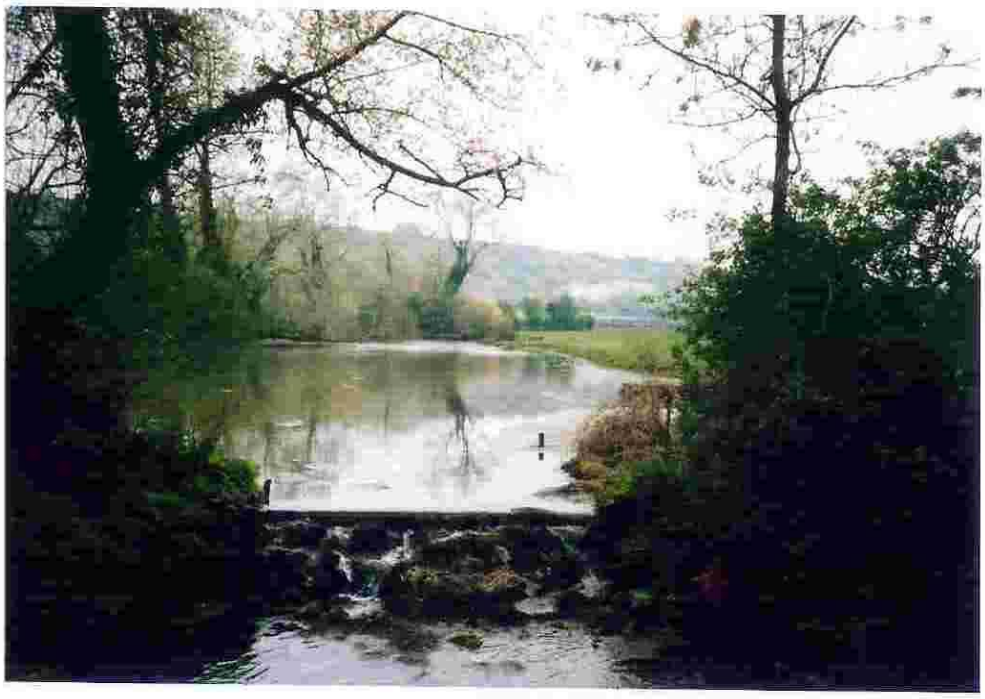


Figure 23 Fovant pool.

near a spring in the valley and 750m from the most southerly spring, three Romano-British burials with hobnails, so possibly third or fourth century in date, were found. Apart from this, the nearest Romano-British evidence to Fovant on the south bank of the Nadder is in the Vale of Wardour some 8km west, where Roman pottery was found during fieldwalking.

The following evidence of activity in the Roman period is all from the north bank and is related to Teffont. At Eyewell Farm, Chilmark, 1.5km south-west of Teffont, a Romano-British field system covering 10ha was excavated and a possible drier found, with ditches, pottery and metalwork indicating that the settlement was occupied throughout the Roman period, with some change in the actual area of settlement by the end of the fourth century. Burials were also excavated here, oriented west-east and including three with cists, and Neolithic and possibly Mesolithic flints were found. At Upper Holt Copse, 1km south of Teffont, is an important site with earthworks suggesting field boundaries, where investigation revealed a floor and foundations of Roman date, plus a deposit of coins dating to the late fourth or early fifth century. This may be the location of a local shrine (Scott 1993, 208; Eagles 2001, 213), as shrines were often at boundaries, and the exact grid reference places the finds to a position just below the brow of the hill, a well-known location for Romano-British shrines and temples.

The burials at Fovant have been mentioned, and at Black Furlong, Teffont Evias quarry, 2km south of the spring, a large Romano-British cemetery was found, with thirty graves and a hundred cists, with brooches, bracelets, pottery, coin, vessel and a rotary quern. The excavation took place between the two world wars and no further dating evidence is available. At Ham Cross Farm 3km south a Roman cist burial or a grave covered with stone slabs, and including iron nails, was found.

The villages lie far from Roman settlement of any size, even a small town, but the road from Old Sarum to the west, Margary 45b, runs along the high ground to the north of Teffont, 2.5km as the crow flies, and the Nadder provides water transport.

The late Roman period:

Thus in the late Roman period the area appears to be similar in character to that around Urchfont, with agricultural areas often of considerable size located on the high chalk upland, begun in pre-Roman times and continuing to be exploited by Romano-British activity. There is little evidence which dates specifically to the late Roman period, apart from the late fourth- or early fifth-century coins at the presumed shrine site at Upper Holt Copse. The coins at Upper Holt Copse may be a votive deposit, but hoards have also been found in the Nadder valley, at Groveley Wood, Barford St Martin, 6.5km east of Teffont where two coin hoards in pots date possibly to the late fourth or early fifth century, and at Dinton, 2.5km south-east, where twenty-three coins were found but no dating evidence is given. These hoards may indicate some distress by the end of the period of Roman administration, when the area may have been becoming less stable than it would appear. Social change, perhaps even upheaval, may have resulted from the change in the accustomed way of

life and overlordship, not to be noticed in the archaeological record until some time later.

The early Saxon period:

Evidence of an early Saxon presence in the area is sparse: the only find reported on the Nadder is of a spearhead at Barford St Martin, 8km downstream from Teffont, found in 1940 (Eagles 2001, 209). In the Ebble valley at Broad Chalke a cemetery with 19 inhumations whose grave goods date to the late sixth to seventh centuries was excavated, where all the graves found contained burnt or unburnt flint and iron pyrites (Yorke 1995, 169). The burial on Swallowcliffe Down above the valleys of the Nadder and Ebble, 8km south-west of Teffont, is dated to the second half of the seventh century and is of a high-status female accompanied by prestigious grave-goods, and marks a later wave of Saxon settlement possibly as the result of treaty agreement (Speake 1989, quoted inYorke 1995,175).
The most notable feature of an early Saxon presence in the area is its absence.

Gazetteer for Teffont and Fovant:

NGR	Source	Details
ST940 347	NMR_NATINV-211016	Fonthill Down, Berwick St L
ST966 252	NMR_NATINV-210395	Swallowcliffe Down
ST970 362	NMR_NATINV-210771 Scott 1993, 207	Stockton Earthworks
ST971 312	NMR_NATINV-1324385	Eyewell Farm R inhum Cem , fields
ST981 298	NMR_NATINV-210934	Ham Cross Farm R burial
ST983 317	NMR_NATINV-210938	Upper Holt Copse
ST985 328	OS 143	Teffont Springhead
ST990 325	OS 143	Teffont Magna
ST992 308 Furlong	NMR_NATINV-210967	Teffont Evias quarry, Black
SU001 254	NMR_NATINV-213969	Fifield Down
SU002 291	NMR_NATINV-213996	3xR burials in Fovant
SU005 285	OS 130	Fovant
SU010 310	NMR_NATINV-214790	R coin hoard
SU010 362	NMR_NATINV-214484	Bilbury Rings
SU042 250	NMR_NATINV-214014	Broad Chalke S cem
SU050 340	NMR_NATINV-1011259	Groveley Wood R hoards
SU060 330	NMR_NATINV-214652	Barford St Martin, S spearhead

Conclusion:

Even though Urchfont lies at some distance from the Nadder where Teffont and Fovant straddle the valley, the three sites appear to share characteristics. The chalk upland of Salisbury Plain and the chalk ridges between the river valleys were utilised in pre-Roman times as good agricultural land, which was continued and expanded in Roman times. The areas do not seem to have lent themselves to a villa economy, but may have served villa estates at a distance, with only unostentatious masonry buildings on the downs themselves. In each area there is a Romano-British shrine where coin finds date from the first to the fourth centuries, at Upper Holt Copse near Teffont even into the early fifth century, and in each case the shrine is located just under the brow of the hill.

Early Saxon presence is found at Market Lavington near Urchfont but not near Teffont and Fovant.

The best evidence for the similarity of these sites is the suggestion that they are at boundary locations to the north and south of Salisbury Plain, probably of pre-Roman date but also notably in consideration of the westward advance of the Anglo-Saxon people. Market Lavington seems to have been a boundary settlement with local and immigrant people living together in some way. West of Teffont the evidence of a Saxon presence dates to as late as the second half of the seventh century. There is no evidence of warfare, so a treaty agreement is suggested, and there may have been no battle; settled in the Avon valley, the Saxons may have been merely extending their territory as it became possible.

It is appropriate to mention here the analysis of barrow/secondary inhumations in the Avebury area, mainly from the late sixth century (Semple 2003), which suggests that these burials were specifically located to signify the occupation of the land by Germanic groups. The statement of ownership made by the inhumations may have been directed initially at the Britons to the west and later at the Mercians to the north.

Placing Avebury, Urchfont and Teffont/Fovant on the map shows that the end of the advance of Germanic culture towards the west is particularly marked at each site. At Avebury there are burials, at Urchfont a border settlement, Market Lavington, and at Teffont/ Fovant a border so important that it was marked by the place-name **funta* on both sides of the valley. The three places lie roughly on a line north-south, with high ground between.

More work is indicated on the subject of place-names in the valleys of the western tributaries of the Avon, as in each valley there appear to be names which add to understandings gained from archaeology and history.

Note on the boundary significance of the Wiltshire sites.

Teffont appears to mark a significant boundary which lasted from pre-Roman days, through the Roman era and into early Saxon times. It is suggested that in pre-Roman days it lay in the boundary area between the territories of the Belgae and the Durotriges (Eagles 2001, 213; Eagles 2004, 236). The possible shrine in Upper Holt Copse may have been a boundary shrine in Roman times, and it may be that the third- fourth-century burials near the spring in Fovant had a cultic significance. The archaeological evidence indicates that this was the limit of the Saxon adventus prior to the seventh century and it may be that this ancient boundary was used in treaty negotiations between Saxons and Britons.

The place-name evidence also strongly demonstrates that this boundary was not only known to, but also named by, the Anglo-Saxons, using elements from the Old English place-naming system. As well as *tēo*, a boundary, at Teffont, the neighbouring parish is Chilmark, in which the elements *cigel*, a post or pole used as an indicator, is combined with *mearc*, a boundary, so a boundary indicator (S 458, S 650; Watts 2004, 134, 603; discussed in Gover et al 1939, 185 – 6), and so within just over a kilometre of each other names signify a boundary spring and an erected sign. Thus there are significant names here in juxtaposition, in an area lacking evidence of early Saxon presence, indicating that the newcomers knew there was a boundary, respected it and named it as such. If a **funta* signified a boundary, then Fovant and Teffont, on the north and south banks of the Nadder, mark the crossing of the river by the boundary.

Fovant and Teffont have English names, but only 5km upstream from Teffont, and 3km from Chilmark over a hill, lies Fonthill, which is a British name. The modern names Teffont and Fonthill appear to contain the same element, *font*, whereas in fact Teffont is an Old English name with second element **funta*, but Fonthill is a British name with its first element PrW * *font* + **ial*, a place abounding in streams (Watts 2004, 135), and since both elements are of British derivation, it cannot have been named originally by the Anglo-Saxons and cannot therefore be considered as a **funta* site. This geographically abrupt change in place-name form, involving cognate terms from two different language families, is evidence of a linguistic and cultural boundary matching the boundary indicated by archaeology and history. Moreover, just as there is no evidence of early Saxon presence west of Teffont, there is likewise no known instance of a place-name with **funta* west of Teffont.

This may also have a significance for the dating of the use of the element **funta* as a place-name forming element.

Area 2 South-west Hampshire

This area has a single **funta* site, Mottisfont.

Fig 24 Mottisfont Abbey and *funta.

The site at present and its earliest name:

The modern small village of Mottisfont lies in the west of Hampshire, 14.5km west of Winchester and some 7km east of the border with Wiltshire. It is just to the west of the river Test, and just to the north of its confluence with the Dun, which rises in the higher ground between Hampshire and Wiltshire. Nearby the A3057 runs along the Test valley, from Stockbridge 8km north of Mottisfont towards Romsey 6km south. The **funta* in the name can be no other than the extremely copious spring, the source of a brook which flows to join the Test and is now a feature of the grounds of Mottisfont Abbey, founded in 1201 as an Augustinian priory by William Briwere, bought in 1536 at the Dissolution by William Lord Sandys and finally given to the National Trust in 1957. The **funta* is surrounded by railings and well-maintained, and is an attraction of the grounds (Fig 24). The parish church of St Andrew is about 300m from the spring, and in late Saxon times the church here was important, as in 1086 six dependent chapels are listed. It is suggested that a minster church may have been established here (NMR 227024). In the eleventh or twelfth century a mother church existed at Broughton near Mottisfont, but Mottisfont later became the parish church and the present church building dates from the first half of the twelfth century. All mother churches in Hampshire at this date were connected with an ancient royal estate, and in the case of Mottisfont/Broughton the church had been granted pre-1086 to the Archbishop of York, being worth a night's farm (Hase 1988, 46, 63 n27). If this were a place to which people were accustomed to bring tribute, it may have been seen as a gathering-place (see below).

The earliest record of the name is in 1086, *Mortesfunde*, *Mortelhunte*, perhaps corrupt (Coates 1989, 119) and later occurring as *Motesfunt(e*), and in 1243 *Mottesfunte*. The variation between –f- and –h- is interesting but usual, replicated in other names and comparable to Boarhunt, some 25km to the east, where the –h- survived but the first spelling with –f- did not. The first element of Mottisfont is taken to be from OE, either *mōtere*, a speaker at a meeting, or (*ge)mōt, (ge)mōtes*, a meeting, but there is some dispute as to the meeting which is indicated, as it could be a meeting of people or refer to the nearby confluence of the Test and the Dun. However, the confluence has many streams and is not well defined or remarkable, and in fact Gelling clinches the matter by pointing out that in fact that OE *mōt*, confluence, is a northern term which would be strange so far south, and it is much more likely that the term refers to a meeting of people, as suggested above (Coates 1989, 119; Watts 2004, 423; Gelling pers comm. 2006).

Distances are for the present purpose measured from the spring.

General background:

During the LPRIA tribal allegiances in this part of Britain appear to have been fluid. Cæsar's references to a migration from northern Gaul to this part of Britain during the first century BC have been disputed (eg Cunliffe and Miles 1984, 32 – 3) but are now largely accepted, and the tribal names Belgæ and Atrebates are common to both areas. Mottisfont lies 43km south-west of *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester) and 14.5km from *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester). Commius, ruler of the Gallo-Belgic Atrebates, and his successors were minting coins at Silchester post-50BC, and whereas the northern boundary of the Atrebates appears to have been unstable, the western boundary, with the Durotriges, is more clearly demonstrated, with a liminal area, in which lay Mottisfont, between Durotrigan territory and that of a southern Atrebatic group. Distribution maps show the Test as a boundary between types of pottery and coinage (Cunliffe 2005, 170 – 1). The local style of the saucepan pot wares of the southern Atrebatic group, the St Catherine's – Worthy Down style, have so far been found no further west than the Test, and sherds of this style were in fact found at Little Somborne (Neal 1979, 125) and Iron Age coinage evidence suggests that the Test valley area may have constituted a border area, as pre-AD43 southern Atrebatic coinage is found no further west than the Test, though stray finds of Durotrigan coins are being reported as far east as the Itchen and even beyond (Haselgrove 1987, 55; Hampshire PAS). Early gold, pre-50BC, is found west of the Test, but there is a marked lack in this area and in Wiltshire of later gold and indeed of any late coinage tradition (Haselgrove 1987, 157). A multiple find of gold at Romsey (ibid, 298, siteM37) therefore probably dates to pre-50BC, and a further hoard, found 3km south-east at Timsbury on the east bank of the Test in 1907, gives further evidence, since it contained uninscribed bronze coins (some of which are in the British Museum) ascribed to a Durotrigan mint, which would have been produced between AD10 and AD40 and Roman coins dating from before AD43 to the late first century (ibid, 95, site 93; NMR). Undated Iron Age coins were also found at Stockbridge (Haselgrove 1987, 334). These finds

indicate that the area in question lay on the overlap of the territories of the two tribal groups, with the early Roman coin mirroring the settlement pattern revealed by archaeological investigation (below). It must always be borne in mind that to the west of Mottisfont is the more difficult terrain between the Test and the Wiltshire Avon, and to the south-west the area of the modern New Forest which would have been unattractive to human settlement 2 000 years ago (Cunliffe and Miles 1984, 26; Cunliffe 2005,168 – 174).

Apart from the coin evidence, there is also evidence of occupation since prehistoric times. In the Dun valley 2km west-south-west were found cores and flakes of flints of probable Mesolithic date, together with pottery of Iron Age and Roman dates and evidence dating occupation here into medieval times. At Carter's Clay 3km south-west there is evidence of an Iron Age furnace and a Roman pottery kiln, and at Bossington 3km north signs of an Iron Age settlement, while at Broughton 4km north there are Bronze Age barrows and evidence of a settlement dating from prehistoric to early medieval times. Further up the Test at Little Somborne, 8km to the north-east, a site shows settlement originally probably fifth to third century BC, with some re-occupation at times into the Roman period when storage pits were dug and use continued. At nearby Ashley farming activity began in the Bronze Age but the soil was apparently not cultivated until the Roman coulter plough came into use. There is no evidence of any sort of villa, but a Roman camp is believed to have been nearby by the road (Neal 1980). Occupation at Houghton Down, Stockbridge, 8km north, lasted from the Iron Age to the fourth century AD (McCulloch 2002, 16) and at Michelmersh 1.5km east there is evidence of an Iron Age/Roman site. At Romsey, 6km south down the Test, from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age and into early Roman times, was a Roman iron-working site ending in about AD370 (Allen 2002, 12; NMR). Thus to north and south of Mottisfont, up and down the Test valley, there appears to have been settlement lasting from earliest times into the Roman era.

Further north at Danebury, the Iron Age hillfort is about 11km away, an important local centre whose influence would have spread into the Test Valley, but the hillfort was suddenly destroyed and abandoned around 100BC, in common with some other local hillforts. A further hillfort was located at Woolbury on Stockbridge Down, constructed in the mid-first millennium BC, though unlike Danebury occupation was sporadic until the late Iron Age when occupation became intensive, probably continuing well into the Roman period (Cunliffe and Poole 2000, 28, 79). Later a small community occupied Danebury, but the Wessex area became marginalized after the Gallic wars, when Roman rule extended through Gaul to the Rhine and trade moved away from the English Channel and the port at Hengistbury Head to the east of Britain which was more convenient to Roman Gaul, and where the local British were more pro-Roman (Cunliffe 1983, 172 – 181).

In Winchester, some 14km from Mottisfont, the earliest known settlement dates to the Iron Age enclosure at Oram's Arbour to the west of the Itchen, where there was occupation, probably a meeting of routes and trading, until the Roman arrival. The first construction of the city was nearer the river towards the end of the first century AD, where the first defences were erected AD60 - 70 (Biddle 1975; Johnston 1981, 46; Zant 1993). Iron Age settlement was also located on St Catherine's Hill to the south-east of the city and in the Itchen valley to the north and east.

As well as the sites mentioned above as showing settlement in the Test valley dating from the pre-Roman period, there are certain sites which may indicate new building in the Roman era. There is evidence at Buckholt, 8km north-west and near the road to Sorviodunum, at Roake Farm, 5km north and at Awbridge 2km south. More detailed evidence is available at Holbury Copse, East Dean, 4km west in the Dun valley, where an aisled farmhouse and outbuildings were found, but the best-known and best-excavated sites are to the east towards Winchester, including that at King's Somborne, 8km north-east, where Purbeck stone roof tiles, brick, flints, box flue tiles, some colour-coated ware, a bronze ring and coins were excavated. At Braishfield, some 6.5km to the east, a late third- or fourth-century building was found and at nearby Lower Slackstead a building produced no dating evidence. At Ampfield also, 8km south-east, foundations of a substantial building were found but no dating evidence is available (HSMR; Scott 1993, 81, 82). The best evidence is from Sparsholt, where 9.5km to the north-east over an Iron Age field system and settlement an early, simple aisled building, typical of the area, had been replaced by a large villa which was excavated during the 1970's.

Dating evidence in this area is often imprecise (Johnston 1976, 88), but it is clear that Mottisfont lay in an area where human activity had been taking place since prehistoric times, settlement occurring from the Iron Age and continuing into Roman times, although by AD43 perhaps the area was on the margin of much activity. The available evidence suggests that during the period of Roman rule the buildings and estates of higher status were to the east, closer to Winchester, as social and topographical factors would indicate. The closest dense Roman settlement to the west was in the valley of the Wiltshire Avon. The area represents "an ordinary and average bit of Roman Britain" (Johnston 1981, 46).

The Late Roman period:

Since the dating evidence is so vague it is difficult to assess the situation here at the beginning of the fifth century. Fourth-century coins have been recovered at the East Dean building along the Dun valley to the west, and at Braishfield the settlement proved to be a late third- or fourth-century rectangular masonry building, with a bath-house, drier, hypocaust and oven, though remaining in use for only about 50 years. At Sparsholt to the east the later house had two infant burials, a bath-house and impressive mosaics, a courtyard villa with affinities to the Andover group of villas, partly residential and partly industrial and agricultural, though abandoned during the mid-fourth century (HSMR23647; Smith 1991, 126; Johnston 1981, 47). This suggests that the area continued to be populated in some measure at this time. In Winchester there is evidence that the Brooks area continued to be in use for some purpose, probably industrial, at the end of the Roman period, though the strategic importance of the city had declined, and there is evidence of building in timber (Zant 1993, xvii – xix), and it is probable that people lived hereabouts into the post-Roman period (Biddle 1975, 303, below). The cemetery at Lankhills to the west of the city was taken to have fallen out of use by AD410, though this may not have been the case (Clarke 1979, 4, 287).

The Early Saxon Period:

The only available evidence of early Saxon settlement in the Mottisfont area is at King's Somborne, 5km north-east, where remains were found of a grubenhaus which appears from pottery evidence to be mid-Saxon (Stoodley from Kris Lockyear, pers com), and at School Farm in the Dun valley where there is slight evidence of settlement and farming. Burials were found at Broughton, 5km north, with north-south orientation and a spearhead, knife and shield-boss (NMR_NATINV-227755) and at Farley Mount, 8.5km east-north-east a seemingly lone late fifth-or early sixth-century weapon burial was found (Stoodley pers comm.). There are stray finds of jewellery: on Stockbridge Down 11km north-east a bracelet and a late sixth-century garnet disc brooch of Jutish design, and at Ampfield a brooch. The PAS records finds of a brooch at King's Somborne and a vessel at Broughton, of vague early medieval date. It is therefore impossible at this time to be specific about the dating of Saxon presence or influence in the Test valley.

A sub-Roman population seems to have continued near Winchester. In Winchester Brooks area sherds of fifth-century pottery were found, indistinguishable from similar sherds from Feddersen Wierde in north Germany (Biddle 1975, 303; also 2008), with other Frankish fragments, and though settlement occupation in the Brooks area is not indicated, the eastern cemeteries show there was some local settlement after the Roman period. (Collis 1978, 41). The cemetery at Lankhills has produced no recognisably early Saxon objects, such as Quoit brooch-style metalwork, though recent excavations have revealed burials without objects, which may be Christian and are not easy to date, suggesting that the cemetery was used by local, not necessarily urban, people (Stoodley pers com). Early cemeteries lie to the east of the city at Winnall1 (sixth century) and Winnall 2 (late seventh and early eighth century), and burials on the east bank of the Itchen in St John's Street near the present Eastgate, could be contemporary with, or post-date Lankhills. Burials on St Giles's Hill are dated to the sixth century. There is evidence at Water Lane of a possibly Christian baptismal tank or baptistery, and similarities in burial practice to those found at Poundbury, Dorset (Collis 1978, 43 – 6; Scobie 2007; H Rees, Winchester Museums Service, pers comm. 2008), while a tile with a possible chi-rho inscription was found in the Brooks area (Foot 1992). A cemetery at Worthy Park, King's Worthy, dates to the fifth to the seventh century, and at Itchen Abbas some 8km north-east of the city part of a large cemetery was excavated, dating from late Roman and into early Saxon time (HSMR32037), but unfortunately for present purposes no further excavation is allowed here. It appears that during the early fifth century there were people living in Winchester and in the Test valley, but at an unspectacular level, and that Christianity had probably spread to the area. Later evidence from Worthy Park suggests that the Winchester area was part of an identifiable south Hampshire enclave with its own culture, and in the seventh century the see was located here. Mottisfont became important enough for a significant ecclesiastical development, as the church was placed very

near to the **funta*, which may have implications as yet unrealised for the history of the area.

Gazetteer of sites for Mottisfont:

NGR	Source	Details
SU280 270	NMR_NATINV-223009	E Dean, Holbury Copse
SU284 319	NMR_NATINV-223445	Buckholt, R bldg
SU303 248	NMR_NATINV-227220	Carters Clay, IA & R
SU305 261	NMR_NATINV-1046029	Lockerley, School Fm
SU308 317	HSMR 24108	Broughton, AS burials
SU316 317	NMR_NATINV-227812	Roake Farm
SU323 377	OS 131	Danebury
SU326 269	OS131	Mottisfont, abbey &
SU329 248	NMR_NATINV-227176 NMR_NATINV-227179	Awbridge, R bldg “ coin hoard
SU335 306	E637348 NMR_NATINV-227826	Bossington, IA & R “ finds
SU337 352	OS131	Houghton Down site
SU340 240	NMR_NATINV-227192	Timsbury coins
SU351 211	NMR_NATINV-227111	Romsey, IA & R site
SU348 273	NMR_NATINV-226975	Michelmersh, Park Fm
SU360 309	HSMR28929	K Somborne, sfb
SU371 310	Neal 1980	Ashley
SU379 351	HSMR29995	Stockbridge, brooches
SU382 355	OS 131	Woolbury hillfort
SU384 265	HSMR24471	Braishfield villa
SU390 240	Scott 1993, 81	Ampfield, R bldg

SU392 332	HSMR25116	Lit Somborne, RB set
SU404 286	Stoodley, p/c	Farley Mount, burial
SU405 311	HSMR23658	K Somborne, R bldg
SU414 229	HSMR25189	Ampfield, brooch
SU414 301	HSMR23647	Sparsholt, villa
SU485 295	OS132	Winchester
SU500 329	Hawkes 2003	Worthy Park cemetery
SU536 330	HER32037	Itchen Abbas, cem

Area 3 South-east Hampshire and south West Sussex.

In this area there are four **funta* sites, Boarhunt, Funtley, Havant and Funtington. The first three are in modern Hampshire, and Funtington is in modern West Sussex, but it is appropriate to group them together as they are so close, lying along the coastal strip between the lower Meon valley in the west and Chichester in the east. Other factors also emerge to suggest a further reason for grouping these sites together (below). Between Funtley in the west and Funtington in the east there is only about 18km, and none of the four sites is more than 4.5km from the coast, though the shoreline has altered considerably in the last 2000 years due to coastal erosion. To the west the land is protected by the Isle of Wight, and all along the coastal strip the land is quite flat, an area of variable soil with alluvial deposits protected to the north by the chalk of the Portsdown Hills and the South Downs which gradually approach the coast to the east, and between the Portsdown Hills and the Downs the extensive area which was formerly the Forest of Bere. Inland parts were accessible from early times via river valleys, but the area under consideration here was quite separate, accessible by sea. Even though the modern county boundary reaches the sea just east of Havant, it is clear that this was not always the division between LPRIA tribal areas or, later, between West Saxons and South Saxons (Welch 1983, 1; and below).

Early background of this area:

In the LPRIA the coastal strip along which these sites are located was in the territory of the Southern Atrebatic group, formed in the years preceding AD43 by an apparent division of the Atrebates. The eastern group, east of the Arun, were probably allied with the Cantii, culturally if not politically, but probably anti-Roman, and the northern group based around the oppidum at *Calleva* (Silchester) by AD43 owed allegiance to the Catuvellaunian/ Trinovantian consortium north of the Thames. The southern group was therefore in the West Sussex/ southern Hampshire area, with a presumed centre at Selsey. Subsequent marine action has removed evidence from the coastal area at Selsey Bill, but coin and other finds indicate a thriving settlement here, with a defensive dyke system to the north similar to that at *Camulodunum* (Colchester), the centre later having moved further inland to Chichester for practical reasons.

The southern Atrebatic group is defined by ceramic tradition. Saucepan pot ware was general across southern Britain, and the advent of the potter's wheel in about 50BC enabled this tradition to be developed and refined by people living in the south into the southern Atrebatic style, and this pottery was supplemented by local copies of Gallo-Belgic ware, probably the result of trade (Cunliffe 1991; 2005, 169 et seq). Dressel 1A amphorae have been found at Owslebury near Winchester. In this particular region the local style is given the name of the St Catherine's/ Worthy Down style with distribution between the Test and the Arun (Cunliffe 1991, 81). During the LPRIA Roman advance on the Continent opened up trade from the Mediterranean via the Garonne, the Loire and Armorica to Britain, and an important trading post and settlement grew up at Hengistbury Head, where Roman goods and ideas, plus coin, found their way into Britain (ibid 108 – 10).

Coinage evidence shows that the area was largely Atrebatic, with some finds of Durotrigan bronze, for example in the Meon valley (PAS). Atrebatic gold and silver coins were issued up to, and maybe even beyond, AD43 (Haselgrove 1987, 95). No coins are known to have been issued from Chichester, though Iron Age coins have been found here and also coin moulds (Magilton 2003, 156; Down 1978, 52). Small bronze coins (Bean Type SB-1, 2) were found on the Chichester by-pass, and similarities of style and distribution between these and other coin types indicate a Caesarian date (Bean 2000, 111). An area between Hengistbury Head and Portsmouth, extending north to Winchester, is identifiable by the distribution of coins known as south Hampshire thin silver pieces, dated probably to the mid-30s BC, and derived from a coinage type in Picardy. Only a few of these coins have been found: six or eight at Hengistbury, one each at Winchester, Owslebury and Portsmouth, eight from Hayling Island and one other in "Hampshire", which are all within the distribution zone of Hengistbury (Mays 1987, 141). Selsey was an important trading centre at this time, but no coins of the Hampshire thin silver type are reported there as yet, though coins of many types have been found along the shore. It is suggested that this thin silver coinage was struck by a tribe living in the area around the Solent, probably along the coast and north towards Winchester as the New Forest was a deserted area (Sellwood 1984, 200 – 202; Mays 1987, 141). The Winchester treasure, found to the east of Winchester, dates to 80 – 30BC, and may signify that there was a centre of power here in the LPRIA.

Iron Age settlement in the area and its environs is demonstrated by excavation at Chalton, north of Havant, (Cunliffe 1976b) and by finds in the Meon valley which indicate that this area of attractive farmland was quite densely occupied by lowland settlements and small farmsteads (Worrell 2007, 384). Along the coast trade flourished: a hoard of coins from Portsmouth contained items of Durotrigan, Icenian and Armorican provenance, probably a merchant's collection (Cunliffe 1973, 18; Bean 2000, 264 – 6). Along the edge of Portsmouth Harbour, Langstone Harbour and Hayling Island were seasonal salt-producing sites probably linked with inland settlements (Bradley 1975). An important temple on Hayling Island dates from the second half of the first century BC and shows structural affinity with temples in west central France. Spectacular finds were excavated, comparable to those at Hengistbury Head, including Mediterranean and Gaulish luxury items which at Hayling Island were votive deposits. During the first century AD major re-building took place here, in the Roman style, as at Chichester and Fishbourne (Downey et al 1979; King 2006). A new social system and a market economy were emerging prior to AD43, and besides the oppidum at Chichester there may have been another at Winchester (above). Hillforts were being abandoned, though west of the Meon and east of the Ouse there were signs of re-defence. The southern Atrebatic group were isolated along the south coast. Before AD43 Verica, king of the Atrebates, had reason to flee to Rome for protection, providing Claudius with an excuse for invasion. It is unclear whether Verica was restored to his kingdom.

When the Claudian army arrived in AD43 its first thrust was to cross the Thames and go east to subdue hostility at Camulodunum. In Chichester Togidubnus was either in power already, or was soon established there by Rome. His name suggests he may have been a Gaul (Coates 2005b) and as a

client king he would have received support, with the result that the coastal strip in West Sussex saw a thriving economy and the early development of villas, some of which show a Mediterranean influence (Rudling 1998). *Noviomagus*, a New Market, was developed on the Chichester site, with the epithet *Regnensium*, though the etymology of this tribal name is unclear. The territory of the Regni extended west to the Meon valley, to meet that of the Belgae, whose territory, the civitas Belgarum, was an artificial Roman imposition (Cunliffe 1973, 23), apparently carved out of southern Atrebatic territory and possibly to support a pro-Roman faction at Winchester. Caesar says that the Belgae settled in a maritime region, and if they were in Hampshire this would mean near the Solent. In 50BC Commius led another group of Belgae to Britain, and must have landed here to get to Calleva. There was probably only a small number of Belgae in Hampshire (Cunliffe 1991, 108 – 110). At Chichester a military presence was soon established, with a base camp for further campaigns along the coast. Industrial activity followed, substantial timber-framed houses were built AD60 – 70, the baths complete by the 80's and the temple to Neptune and Minerva by the end of the century (Down 1978, 52). At Venta Belgarum the first Roman defences and the orthogonal street plan were begun AD60 – 70 and the Forum and Basilica by the end of the first century (Johnston 1981). Roads were soon constructed in the area: Stane Street (Margary 15), the link between London and Chichester, originally extended beyond Chichester, as aerial photography shows that it continued along what is now the sea-bed, probably to a port where supplies could be unloaded for transport to London (Kenny 2006).

The Late Roman Period:

The temple on Hayling Island ceased any organised activity by the early third century, though a few coins of the late third and fourth centuries have been found (Downey at al 1979, 15). By the end of the Roman period the early opulence and prosperity of the villas along the West Sussex coastal strip had declined; even the palatial establishment at Fishbourne, destroyed by fire in the late third century, was not rebuilt, though occupied. Other villas along the coast saw a similar decline in the third and fourth centuries, but further inland, away from the threat of coastal piracy and the dominance of military installations, villa estates such as Bignor, east of the Arun, were thriving and expanding. This may also have reflected social change, as the original élite of the early civitas were eclipsed by landowners who were less prestigious, but wealthy, so the work continued but the opulent lifestyle did not. Finally, in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, these later villas show signs of decay, though some farmsteads, especially on the Downs, show occupation even perhaps into the early fifth century (Rudling 1998).
Further to the north-west, supposedly the western edge of Regni territory in the Meon valley, the Roman aisled building at Meonstoke continued well into the fourth century. This was a complex of some grandeur with traditional Ionic details in the decoration of its elaborate façade, its linked arches and columns a feature of late Roman architecture. During the late fourth century the building fell into decay and a less prestigious lifestyle is indicated by fifth-century sub-Roman grog-tempered ware and so-called squatter occupation shown by destruction of the mosaic (King 1996, 68 – 69). Just to the north the

Roman building at Shavards Farm, begun in the second century, fell into disrepair in the mid-fourth (WCSMR 6007; Scott 1993, 85). All along the Meon valley down to Wickham and Fareham is evidence of scattered Romano-British sites, some dating from the Iron Age (WCSMR).

Defence of the coast became necessary and the decline of the coastal economy may be attributed to the threat of Channel piracy, though evidence of attack is not shown. Excavation shows that the fort at Portchester, usually identified with *Portus Adurni* of the *Notitia Dignitatum* and a fort of the Saxon Shore, was constructed during the late third century and in use by the military until cAD350. Occupation by military and civilian population, in varying density, continued through the fourth century and into the fifth. It is suggested that the occupants were *laeti*, settled by Roman authorities for reasons of defence and including families, as many domestic activities are attested, and as independent personnel they would have had no reason to leave when Roman troops were withdrawn (Cunliffe 1975, 422 – 431). It may be that the role of Portchester was taken over by Clausentum (?Bitterne) as a swift exit would have been easier from there than from Portsmouth Harbour, and that Chichester was also garrisoned, as during the late fourth century bastions were added to is defensive system (Cunliffe 1973, 127, 68; Wilson 2003).

The early Saxon period:

Good evidence for fifth-century occupation in the Portchester fort is provided by part of a bowl belonging to a group of *Schalenurnen* characteristic of the north German coastlands in the first part of that century, and part of a brooch dated to the second part of that century. Continued use is suggested by stratified finds in well (pit) 135 and distinctive potsherds (Cunliffe 1976, 301). In the Meon valley, at Meonstoke Roman villa, Saxon occupation probably began in the late fifth or early sixth century, when a sunken-featured building was dug in the courtyard and post-holes suggest re-use of the building (King 1996, 58 – 60). There are finds of Germanic metalware including a quoit brooch style belt mount and a supporting-arm brooch at Shavards Farm, dating to AD380 – 420 and comparable to finds in Lower Saxony (Stoodley and Stedman 2001), which suggest early fifth-century occupation. There is scattered evidence of Germanic presence along the valley from the late fifth century.

The progress of the Germanic advance into West Sussex is at the moment unclear. It has been suggested that the south Hampshire/West Sussex coastal strip was a British-held enclave between the Jutish territory in the Meon valley and the territory ceded to Aelle in the late fifth century in modern East Sussex, which he extended further west by conquest (Morris 1973). However, it should be remembered that this suggestion was put forward before the discovery of the Apple Down cemeteries north-west of Chichester, which show affinities with cemeteries to the west. There is no mention of Chichester in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle before 895, by which time it was named as a burgh in the Alfredian burghal system. However, the lack of evidence for a Saxon presence does not necessarily imply a resistance on the part of the indigenes; indeed it has been suggested that early Saxon evidence has not yet come to light in many places (Welch 1983, 19) and in fact, after this was said, excavation in 1992 at Westhampnett, 4km east of Chichester, revealed a

Romano-British cemetery over a late Iron Age religious site, and beside it a flat inhumation cemetery, with ten graves including three in an enclosure. Goods include knives with broken tips which may date between the late sixth and mid eighth century, a Swanton series L spearhead and a sceat series x, 710 - 735. It is suggested that this site was contemporary with the later phase of Apple Down (Fitzpatrick 1997, 287 – 295). In 2001 a further site was found by the Roman road at Westhampnett, which revealed Bronze Age material, Iron Age and Roman field marks and droveway, two Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured buildings and a medieval enclosure (NMR).

In support of the argument for British-held territory, there may be as yet unrecorded pre-English field names on this strip, but settlement names are notably English. Pre-English exceptions include Shoot Farm (SU572017) and Chark (SU577020) in Gosport district near the coast, Creech Wood (SU640110) in the Forest of Bere north of the Portsdown Hills and Preshaw (SU585225) west of West Meon (Coates and Breeze 2000; pers obs). Wight and Solent are pre-English, which is unremarkable as they are trade routes in constant use, and Meon and Itchen are pre-English river names, again unremarkable (Jackson 1953). There are Latin elements in Portsmouth (*portus*) and Wickham (*vicus*) as well as the **funta* names here under scrutiny, but *wicham* is common all over lowland Britain and the Chronicle justifies the name Port *sa* 501, which would have been known to traders.

As mentioned above, the present county boundary between Hampshire and West Sussex does not necessarily represent an historic boundary. Between the southern Atrebates and the Durotriges the territorial limit was probably in the Test area, then after AD43 the Test, or Bokerley Dyke, served as a boundary between the Belgae and the Durotriges. The boundary between the Regni and the Belgae was perhaps in the Meon valley. The Meon valley was seen as a distinct area in the seventh century, when Wulfhere king of Mercia, having taken it and Wight from the West Saxons, gave both these areas to Aethelwealh of the south Saxons as a baptismal gift (HE IV, 13; ASC sa 661). Shortly after Aethelwealh's death in the 680's the South Saxons came under the domination of the West Saxons under Caedwalla. Bede describes the territory of the South Saxons as stretching south and west from Kent as far as the land of the West Saxons

quae post Cantuarios ad austam et ad occidentem usque ad occidentales

Saxones pertingit (HE IV 13)

but the actual border is unclear, Bede placing it opposite the Isle of Wight. Place-names may be helpful here. Marden is *meredone,* 1086, East Marden is *Estmeredun* in the twelfth century, Up Marden is *upmerdone* S1206, AD918 - 924. It is supposed that the name is from OE (*ge)mære,* a boundary, + *-dun,* hill (Watts 2004, 398). The present county boundary is 2km west of West Marden.

Besides the theory of West Sussex as a British enclave, another theory is that colonisation of West Sussex was from the east: the first settlement in Sussex was between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, then later it extends west to the Arun, then west again to downland sites such as seventh-century Chalton. Apple Down began in the late fifth century, and it is possible that it may have been a border settlement in as yet undominated country, in the same way as it

is suggested that Highdown near the Arun may have been (Welch 1983), and as Market Lavington in Wiltshire may have been at a border in the settlement pattern there. As the people who later became the South Saxons pushed west, the border would have moved, by agreement or by conquest. However, the theory of colonisation from the east is less secure when the similarities between Apple Down and the cemeteries in the Meon valley, at Worthy Park and St Mary's are considered, suggesting that this part of Sussex had more in common with south Hampshire.

The evidence from these cemeteries shows that they form a group, and are linked with cemeteries in the Isle of Wight and East Kent and even with those in the Jutish homelands (Stoodley pers com), which suggests that there was a political and cultural grouping of these areas. Unfortunately the Isle of Wight excavations were done some time ago, so certain evidence is not available, but the other cemeteries show similarities in terms of the length of period of use, continuation of the rite of cremation, weapon assemblage and female dress style, though all sites have not yet yielded information in all these categories. In the Meon valley at Shavards Farm, 3km north of Droxford, an inhumation cemetery was excavated which dates to the late fifth to seventh centuries, with an early spearhead, knives and shield bosses, and a bronze rectangular buckle and shoe-shaped rivets of Frankish design which show links with Kent. The continuation of use into the seventh century is also shown at Apple Down and Worthy Park; it seems to have been more usual in Wessex to abandon the early cemetery and begin a new one in the seventh century. Droxford in the Meon valley fell out of use in the late sixth century and is an inhumation cemetery, the others in the group containing burials of mixed rite. This was in fact quite well-established in England, but in this group of cemeteries it is noted that both rites were being practised at a late date, and cremations at St Mary's and Apple Down were found which date to as late as the late seventh century, St Mary's continuing in use into the eighth century. (Birbeck et al 2005, 75). The sixth-century female dress style in some of these south Hampshire/ West Sussex burials differs from the usual Anglo-Saxon style, which consisted of a peplos-style garment with a pair of fastening brooches at the shoulders. By contrast, at Worthy Park ten brooches were found in positions indicating a single shoulder or central fastening, eight brooches were found singly and a possible pair, and of the single brooches, two were definitely placed at the left clavicle, one at the throat, three at the left arm or elbow, one right of the waist together with one of those at the left clavicle, and one loose (Hawkes 2003). This single brooch feature is also noted at Apple Down and at Droxford (Stoodley pers com).

The number of weapons excavated at St Mary's is remarkably high, and the assemblages often show unusual combinations. Grave 5352 has a pair of spears, a seax and a shield, while grave 5537 has a sword, seax, two spears and a shield, a possibly unique assemblage, and overall the cemetery is notable when compared with others in Hampshire for the lateness and number of weapons. The only area in England to have a comparable number and assemblage pattern is East Kent (ibid 81).

The cemetery evidence points to a strong cultural link between Apple Down in the east, via the Meon valley to the lower Itchen valley in the west, mirroring Bede's assertion of a group of people whom he calls Jutes in Kent, the Isle of Wight and Wessex opposite the Isle of Wight (EH 1:15). Evidence

of early Germanic settlement around Chichester is still piecemeal, and the re-occupation of Chichester was not, apparently, until mid-Saxon times (Kenny 2006). The area to the west of Chichester as far as the Itchen has its own story.

Gazetteer for the area:

SU178 905	OS OL22	Hengistbury Head
SU482 293	OS 132	Winchester
SU562 082	OS 119	Funtley
SU604 084	OS 119	Boarhunt
SU625 045	OS 119	Portchester Castle
SU716 064	OS 120	Havant
SU800 085	OS 120	Funtington
SU855 921	OS 120	Selsey Bill
SU859 045	OS 120	Chichester cathedral

Funtley

The site at present and its earliest name:

Fig 25 Funtley pond

Funtley village now lies on the northern edge of Fareham, between the built-up urban area and the countryside of the lower Meon valley. The Meon is to the west, and to the east lie the Portsdown Hills where the nineteenth-century forts look out over the scarp to the Solent. Funtley pond (Fig 25), which is the flooded quarry where clay was obtained formerly for the Fareham brick-making industry, is a wildlife haven and has protected fishing: the M27 runs just to the south of the pond. The appearance of the present village belies its earlier importance. In 1086 land was held at Great Funtley by Count Alan (1hide), Robert Fitzgerald (1/2 hide) and Ranulf Flambard (1 hide), and in the three holdings are also listed 1 virgate, 7 ploughs, 14 acres of meadow, 13 pigs, mills rendering 10s and 12s 6d, with 8 bordars, 11 villeins and 3 slaves (DB 105,112,120). For some reason it was necessary for the recorders of information for the Domesday Book to note that the men of Funtley insisted that this manor was not part of Crofton, which lies to the south. A church is listed at Crofton but not at Funtley (DB 105). By the mid-twelfth century Funtley was held by the de Hoyvill family (Hanna 1988, III 87) and in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century Richard de Hoyvill granted the tithes of the fulling mill he had built there to Southwick Priory (ibid xxii, I 35). Through the thirteenth century many documents were signed at Funtley, often in connection with the Priory's tithe dues from Boarhunt. It appears that the Black Death wiped out the entire villein population of Funtley (Watts 1998,27) and after the Black Death, in the mid-fourteenth century, all demesne land except one acre of meadow was enclosed into smaller fields in 1381 (VCH V, 421) and in the eighteenth century there was an iron furnace and an iron *Myll (*VCH V, 464) still shown on OS 119 near the Meon. This small village was important in earlier times.

The earliest written form of the name is 1086 *funtelei*, **funta* + *lēah,* (the **funta* in a wood or a clearing), and through the thirteenth century it has various spellings in the documents mentioned above, with the first element spelt with –o- or –u- randomly (Watts 2004,244). This variation is still seen today: Great Funtley Farm lies 1km upstream of Fontley House farm, and a terrace of houses in Funtley village is named Fontley Cottages. If there were at any time a nucleated settlement named Fu/ontley, its site is now unknown, following the Black Death, the fulling mill, iron works, railway line and the diversion of the river Meon and as there is no early church, distances are measured from the pond. It may be that the pond is the site of the original spring, as when clay extraction was taking place in the nineteenth century, work was obliged to halt because the quarry became inundated from an underground spring (local information).

Early background:

Funtley lay in the southern Atrebatic territory, and post-AD43 would have just come in the civitas of the Regni, near its border with that of the Belgae which is thought to be the Meon or its valley (above). There is some evidence of prehistoric and early Roman occupation in the area but to the south are the modern urban areas of Fareham and Gosport. At the moment the available evidence is from the east and south-east of Funtley, and it will be noticed that all the sites but one in the gazetteer lie along the 06 – 07 northing in the grid reference.

The late Roman period:

Funtley lies away from the early villa sites of the West Sussex coastal plain and the Meonstoke villa is some 13km north up the Meon valley. The Fairthorn villa at Curdridge is 5.5km north-west, in the valley of the Hamble, probably separated from the Meon valley by woodland in Roman times. The main roads in this part are inland, to the north of the Portsdown Hills, running from Chichester in the east to Bitterne and to Winchester further west. A minor road may have run to Fareham from the Chichester – Bitterne road (Margary 421), giving access to Portchester and leaving the main road near its crossing of the Hamble river. Another road may have run from from Wickham south towards Fareham (Margary 420) via the head of Fareham Creek (Hughes 1976, 59). The sites to the east and south-east of Funtley with evidence of Roman occupation lie along the southern (scarp) slope of the hills, and often date from pre-Roman times. The closest is at Furzehall Farm 2km east where Roman pottery and two pits were found, together with an Iron Age ditch and Neolithic and Bronze Age flints. In Fareham High Street at the Crown Offices site, 2.5km south-east, a probable Romano-British settlement was found, with a ditch and nails, pottery and tegulae dating from the first to fourth centuries, while a farmstead at Paradise Lane, 3.5km south-east and now under the M27, was identified by buildings, pottery and coins also dating to the first to fourth centuries, also with some prehistoric material. Near Nelson's Monument, 5km south-east, Iron Age and Roman pottery was found,

and 7.5km east at Paulsgrove two fourth-century inhumations with coins were found in 1888. On the Portsdown Hills 8.5km east a settlement was discovered in 1969, with Iron Age, Roman and early medieval pottery, roof and flue tiles indicating a building, and nearby the remains of what appeared to be a Roman look-out tower. There are also stray finds dating to Prehistoric, Iron Age and Roman times along this strip of land. It appears that occupation continued here into the fourth century, but the area was, of course, open to coastal attack. Portchester Castle is 7km from Funtley, but well inside the present Portsmouth Harbour, leaving present Portsea Island and Gosport very vulnerable. It is thought, in any case, that the Saxon Shore forts had a counter-productive effect on the local economy (Rudling 1998, 46).

The early Saxon period:

It is not surprising that there is a dearth of material from this time in this area. There was Germanic settlement to the north in the Meon valley, and on the coast to the south at Portchester, but the sparse settlement of this coastal area is discussed above. An Anglo-Saxon cemetery dated to the early sixth century was discovered at Fareham 2km south of Funtley, and partly excavated, with pots believed to be cremation urns, together with a second-century Roman pot and a fifth-century bowl, though it must be added that this discovery was made prior to 1880. A further cemetery, found in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, but subject to twentieth-century investigation, lay 8.5km east, over a Bronze Age barrow on the spur at Clapper Hill at the western end of the Portsdown Hills, revealed horseshoes, a Swanton Type H3 spearhead probably dating to the seventh century, inhumation burials dated variously to the sixth or seventh century (Corney et al 1967). A multiperiod site dating from Late Iron Age to mid-Saxon times was found 3.5km south-east at Portchester Road, near Paradise Lane, and monitored in 1999 during groundworks for residential building. It was believed that the site was "of some status" and included a grubenhaus but no further dating evidence is available. A further multiperiod site dating from Bronze Age to medieval times was found at Hook, 8km south-west and near the present coastline. In fact, the dating evidence from these finds is so poor that it is impossible to draw any real conclusion, and the urban area is now so widespread that further finds will not readily be made.

Conclusion:

It would appear that Funtley's position at the southern end of the Meon valley, where the Meon cuts around the western end of the high ground of the Portsdown Hills, was at the extremity of settlement to the north and to the east. Wickham, discussed under Boarhunt, lies some 4km upstream and was an important place in Roman times near the junction of roads and showing signs of activity during this period, which is also evident further upstream during the fifth and sixth centuries. Funtley seems to have been somewhat unimportant until later in the early medieval period.

Gazetteer for Funtley:

SU511 055	NMR_NATINV-234326	Hook multiperiod site
SU522 118	ENHMR-627464	Fairthorn R villa
SU562 082	OS 119	Funtley pond
SU577 071	NMR_NATINV-234231 Hughes 1976, 60	Fareham crem cem (pre 1880)
SU579 075	NMR_NATINV-831581	Furzehall farm R pot
SU581 063	NMR_NATINV-234241	Fareham 33 High St RB set
SU590 060 site	EHNMR-1260873	Portchester Road LIA-mid-S
SU590 074	NMR_NATINV-234207 Hughes 1976, 60	Clapper Hill S inhum
SU594 071	NMR_NATINV-234240	Paradise Lane RB farmstead
SU612 069	NMR_NATINV-238632	Nelson's Mon. IA & R pot
SU636 065	NMR_NATINV-238547	Paulsgrove 2x4c inhum.
SU643 066 set.	NMR_NATINV-238597	Portsdown Hills IA, R pot, R
SU644 066	NMR_NATINV-238639	Portsmouth, R tower
SU648 065	NMR_NATINV-238558	Portsdown

Boarhunt

Fig 26 Boarhunt church.

The site at present and its earliest name:

Boarhunt today consists only of the small eleventh-century 2-cell church of St Nicholas (Fig 26), which stands slightly uphill of the house, buildings and yard of Manor Farm, in the lee of the Portsdown Hills to the south, where the minor road curves in a dog-leg around and between the church and the farm. However, in 1086 there were three holdings at Boarhunt, with three mills and two saltpans; today Boarhunt mill is about 1km north of the church, on the little Wallington River which flows west, then south to Portsmouth harbour, perhaps where the saltpans were. In the cartulary of Southwick Priory both East and West Boarhunt are mentioned, and modern Boarhunt must be the West Boarhunt of the cartulary, as the tithes and appurtenances of the church here were granted to the Priory, for the upkeep of the guesthouse (Hanna 1988 – 9,1.140). Today the modern village of North Boarhunt is 2km north of the church and Manor Farm. The modern close proximity of the church and Manor Farm gives the impression that the church may have originally been a "thegnly" church (pers obs). It is probable that the settlement near the church was severely reduced at the time of the Black Death in the fourteenth century, as happened at nearby Funtley, and there are traces of a further deserted settlement 600m east of the church, which may be the remains of East Boarhunt (NMR). In the yard of Manor Farm near the church is a large pond, apparently spring-fed, as a brook flows from it westward, under the road and across the fields. This spring could well have been the **funta*, near which the church was built, but there are other springs in the area and it has been

suggested that the **funta* was in fact the spring at Offwell Farm, 2km to the east (Cole 1985,6; Coates 1989, 36).

The earliest record of the place-name is in BCS 1161 (S1821) (Finberg 1964, 67), a tenth-century survey of the lands held by Winchester cathedral, which includes 10 hides *aet byrhfunt*□, and through the medieval period the spelling is quite consistent, with the first element in –o- or –u- and the second in –hunt or –hunte. The first element is from OE *burh*, dat *byrig* = a fortified or enclosed place +**funta.* It appears that since church, manor and spring are all in close proximity, this was in fact the original site of Boarhunt, and distances are therefore measured from here.

Early Background:

Boarhunt is on the northern dipslope of the Portsdown Hills, which form a barrier between this and their scarp overlooking Portsmouth harbour to the south. The dip goes on to the valley of the little Wallington River, which flows south to the head of Fareham Creek, and beyond its valley is gentle country to the Meon valley some 5km to the west. In the LPRIA this would have been the territory of the southern Atrebates, but only a little evidence of Iron Age occupation has been found locally (see below), and probably the countryside was heavily wooded, although today it is open downland and used for arable farming. It appears that this immediate area was not settled in pre-Roman times, unlike the ridge to the south. However after AD43 the area was opened by the construction of a road from Chichester (Margary 421) leading west to the sites at Southampton and Winchester. This road runs 2km north of Boarhunt and on to Wickham, where it divides, continuing west to *Clausentum* (?Bitterne) and north-west (Margary 420) to *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester). There are slight traces of early Roman occupation: at Ashley Down farm, some 500m east of the church, Iron Age and second-century pottery was found, also Roman pottery at Lodge Farm 2km north-east. At Denmead 5km east-north-east Iron Age and Roman ditches were found, with traces of first-century industry, and in the Forest of Bere 5km north-west evidence of a late first- or early second-century bloomery was found. The main evidence of Roman presence is at Wickham, which lies 5km north-west in the Meon valley, where a rubbish pit and first-century pottery and tiles were found, with possibly a villa-type building to the south-east (Hughes 1976, 143). The road from Chichester divides just south of Wickham, where it crosses the Meon, and it is suggested that there was a *mansio* at or near the road junction (Cunliffe 1973). There may have been a minor road leading from here south to the head of Fareham Creek (Hughes 1976, 59), and a further minor road leading up the Meon valley (King 1996, 68), as further up the Meon valley there is extensive evidence of Roman occupation, continuing into the late Roman period (below). There is evidence of an occupation site dating to the first century, with roof tiles, wall fragments and a ditch, near the road to Winchester at Shedfield, 2.5km from Wickham, possibly a roadside settlement, and also a pottery kiln nearby. Evidence of a villa-type building was found in 1889 at Curdridge near the road to Clausentum on the east bank of the Hamble. Roman interest seems to have been concentrated in the upper Meon valley and in the centres at Winchester and Chichester.

The late Roman period:

No evidence specifically from this time emerges from the immediate vicinity of Boarhunt, even from Wickham. Chichester and Winchester appear to have been in a state of decline and the coastal area was under threat from piracy. There is some evidence from the area south of the Portsdown Hills, discussed under Funtley, and in the Meon valley the villa at Meonstoke continued to be occupied well into the fourth century, and with occupation lasting into the fifth, but on a much less advantaged scale (King 1996, 68 – 9). Around Meonstoke various coins from the third and fourth centuries have been found by surface collection (Entwistle et al 2005). However, this area lies across country, 12km north of Boarhunt in the Meon valley, and the industrial site at Rowlands Castle is 15km east (see under Havant). Until further evidence emerges, it is safe to say that in the late Roman period Boarhunt was an isolated spot in the forest.

The early Saxon Period:

Again, there is little evidence of presence in this period in this area. The place-name Wickham indicates that when speakers of Old English arrived here there were Roman buildings of some sort still to be seen (Lat *vicus*>*wic* + ham). The most convincing evidence is again to be found in the upper Meon valley, at Droxford, where the cemetery dates to the late fifth and sixth century (Aldsworth 1978), and at Shavards Farm, Meonstoke, where dating evidence suggests use in the sixth and seventh centuries (Stoodley et al 2001). The earliest evidence from Boarhunt itself is the name and its mention in the land held by the cathedral. The site attracted the establishment of a church and an enclosed space, perhaps because of the existence of a **funta* which was of significance locally.

Gazetteer for Boarhunt:

SU549 126	NMR_NATINV-234757	Shedfield, R kiln.
SU553 135	NMR_NATINV-866798	Shedfield, roadside set.
SU574 113	NMR_NATINV-234709	Wickham, pot, tiles, rubbish
SU575 111	NMR_NATINV-234712	Wickham, R site
SU582 109	NMR_NATINV-234711	Wickham, poss villa
SU590 130	NMR_NATINV-234681	Forest of Bere, bloomery
SU604 084	OS 119	Boarhunt church
SU608 079	NMR_NATINV-238620	Boarhunt, Ashley Down Fm
SU612 184	HSMR-26189`	Droxford, AS cem
SU616210	King 1996	Meonstoke Roman building
SU618 096	NMR_NATINV-238627	Boarhunt, Lodge Fm
SU619 209	Stoodley et al 2001	Shavards Farm AS cem
SU634 091	NMR_NATINV-238504	? mansio
SU651 116	E1337184	Denmead, IA & R ditches

Havant

Fig 27 The Homewell at Havant

The site at present and its earliest name:

Havant today is unlike almost all other **funta* sites. The spring is in an urban setting, and bubbles up copiously within its retaining wall in the middle of the built-up area of the modern town (Fig 27). It is close to the church of St Faith, some 500m from the railway station and only about 250m south of the busy A27 which runs between Portsmouth and Chichester, a couple of km from its junction with the A3(M) from London. Havant is about 3.5km west of the county boundary of Hampshire and West Sussex at Emsworth. The spring at Havant is called the Homewell, and has been known to fail only once in living memory, in the hot summer of 1976.

Modern Havant lies close to the coast, which here is the shallow waters of Langstone Harbour, across which a bridge connects the mainland with Hayling Island. North of the town is the higher ground of the South Downs, and to the west the spur at the end of the Portsdown Hills. The flattish coastal strip continues towards Chichester some 14km to the east. The earliest record of the name is AD935 (S430), when King Athelstan gave to thegn Wihtgar, for four lives, seven *mansæ* (hides) *æt hamanfuntan*, recorded in the *hamanfuntan landboc*, and again when King Athelred made a second grant in AD980 (S837). By the tenth century the name was *hafunt*, where seven hides are recorded in the lands belonging to Winchester Cathedral (BCS 1161, no S no). The name derives from Haman, genitive of the personal name Hama, + **funta*, Hama's spring. This compares with Fovant (Fobba's spring), Pitchfont (Picca's spring) etc.

Distances are measured from the Homewell.

Early background:

In the LPRIA Havant lay in the territory of the Southern Atrebates, 15km to the west of the oppidum at Selsey. It is probable that the sea-level was lower then than it is today, though the exact conditions are unknown, and as the water level rose and the shoreline receded inland, the coast at Selsey Bill became inundated and the centre of administration moved inland to Chichester. There appears to have been a vigorous trade along the coast from Selsey west to Portsmouth, around the Solent and west still to the important trading centre at Hengistbury Head, and there were strong cross-Channel links with north-west Gaul and Armorica, demonstrated by the numbers and provenance of coin found along the shore at Selsey and at Hengistbury.

The Iron Age and Romano-British temple on Hayling Island is some 3km south of the Homewell, first built in the late first century BC according to coin and pottery evidence, and demonstrating further the links between northern Gaul and this part of Britain. The construction of the temple is similar to that of Romano-Celtic temples in France, for example at Périgueux, and others which lie in a band across central France, especially to the west. The plan is a circular cella with a temenos, and an outer temenos and ambulatory. The excavators suggest that there was also a cult link between the Hayling Island temple and shrines in central France (Downey et al 1979, 16; King and Soffe 1998), and the votive deposits at Hayling Island indicate wealthy visitors, who left items comparable in value only to those found at Hengistbury and not reflected at other local rural sites. There is reason to believe that Commius, leader of the Atrebates in Gaul and later in Britain, was instrumental in establishing the temple at Hayling Island after the Gaulish fashion, and on an island, which was often a site for such cult centres, and that it continued to be an important cult centre after the Roman invasion during the reign of Togidubnus, who may have been a Gaul (Coates 2005). The temple had a Celtic dedication and would have served the local population, whereas the temple at Chichester was a Roman creation and dedicated to Neptune and Minerva. In the flat landscape of the island the temple would have been visible from some distance, standing on a slight rise in the northern part of the island, and it was deemed important enough to be worthy of rebuilding after AD43, when the site was levelled and a massive stone temple built. Votive material from the Roman period is largely fibulæ and coin, the pottery being of local manufacture.

There are other traces of Iron Age activity in the area around Havant, especially on the sea side, where there is evidence of a thriving salt-producing industry which lasted perhaps to AD100. This was a seasonal activity, carried out between about May and August, and would have been accompanied by other related activities, summer grazing with the use of salt to preserve meat and to produce leather later in the year and pottery in bonfire kilns alongside the salt evaporation (Bradley 1975). By AD100 the methods of salt production were changing, so briquetage from the salterns is no longer available after this date. Since it was seasonal work the people engaged in it must have lived further inland during the winter, and in fact some 11km north of Havant there was a Romano-British village at Chalton, where there had been a mid-Iron Age occupation site, and traces of other Iron Age occupation are in this inland area (NMR; Cunliffe 1976).

In AD43 the area around Havant was strongly pro-Roman and Chichester soon became the centre of the civitas of the Regni, called by the occupying Roman forces Noviomagus Regnensium, the new market of the Regni. A massive building programme began here and in the countryside, the local élite establishing villas in the Roman style (Rudling 1998). The Hayling Island temple was rebuilt, also on a massive scale, at the same time, showing similarities in its black and white mosaic to that at the nearby proto-palace at Fishbourne (Downey et al 1979, 18). The road from Chichester to the west, now the A27, to Wickham, Clausentum and Winchester (Margary 421) passed just by the Homewell and is assumed to have connected with the end of the road going across to the Hayling Island temple, perhaps via a ford. Pottery kilns were established 4 – 5km north of Havant in the area of Rowlands Castle, where wood and clay were available, and a local road (Margary 425) constructed from this industrial area to Havant and the main road running east-west. Thus there developed a busy route crossing near the spring.

The early prosperity of the West Sussex coastal plain appears to have spread as far as the Havant area, where the Hayling Island temple was an attraction, but west of Havant the coastal strip narrows and the Portsdown Hills rise closely behind the shore. The main road to the west runs inland behind the hills, through what would have been wooded countryside towards Wickham, and the terrain was no longer suitable for villa estates, so about 2km west of Havant along the road the villas of Little Park Wood and Crookhorn are the last in this direction. The Rowlands Castle villa is 5km north of the town, a further one at Warblington to the east, and to the south the villa near the sea at Langstone (NMR). There are many other indications of settlement and activity in and around Havant during the Roman period, though often dating evidence is absent from the records (NMR). It may be that occupation continued at a working level, for example at Wakeford's Copse, 3km north of the spring, a Roman farmhouse and other buildings were found.

It appears that in the first part of the Roman period the little town of Havant was busy and prosperous.

The late Roman period:

The temple on Hayling Island saw no further organised activity after the early third century and was probably demolished, though a few late third- and early fourth-century coins have been retrieved from the rubble. This early, rapid decline is paralleled at Fishbourne, where after a fire in the late third century, although occupation continued, it was on a much less prestigious level. This decline in high-status activity may well be linked to the beginnings of the insecurity along the coast, caused by the threat of piracy (Downey et al 1979, 15). It may be that the somewhat secluded nature of the harbour leading to Havant afforded some protection during the fourth century, as Portchester is thought to have been by now been eclipsed by Clausentum (Cunliffe 1973, 127). Where dating evidence is available, there are signs that some prosperity continued into the later Roman period; though most of the villa-type estates had declined in the early fourth century, there was still activity at Crookhorn, north-west of Havant, and at the best-excavated and reported site, Spes Bona, occupation continued, maybe into the fifth century. Spes Bona is the name of the house in Langstone Avenue about 1km south of the Homewell and near

the sea, which was begun in the first century, at the latest by the Neronian period (AD54 – 68). This original construction was occupied until the third century, when a further masonry building was erected, perhaps on an adjoining site, with bath-house, hypocaust and window-glass, and where pottery evidence is dated to pre-350 except for a small group of sherds dating to the late fourth or even early fifth century and which includes greyware from Rowlands Castle, pottery from Overwey and Alice Holt and some Hampshire grog-tempered ware which was significant in coastal Hampshire in the late fourth century (Gilkes 1998). The coin evidence dates consistently through the later third and early fourth centuries until c350, after which there are only two coins of Theodosius the Great (379 – 395). Even though no evidence is available to confirm or deny a similar length of occupation at other sites in the area, the valuable findings at Spes Bona are very useful.

The Rowlands Castle ware at Spes Bona indicates that the pottery industry was continuing in some measure in the fourth century, and it is suggested that the kilns were flourishing (Hughes 1976). It is likely that the crossroads at Havant near the spring continued to be busy, and that traffic continued to pass in all directions, for when the church of St Faith was renovated in 1832 a brick and cement pavement was revealed under its foundations, and on the pavement coins dating to the second, third and fourth centuries (Hughes 1976, 70), including one ofAD383 – 8 (NMR). It is suggested that there was a market centre or perhaps a *mansio* near the crossroads, which appears more than likely, and it also appears that there was still plenty of activity, production, trade and traffic in the locality.

The early Saxon period:

There is very little to say about this time in the Havant area, as understandings must be deduced from the lack of evidence rather than constructed from its abundance. The Hayling Island temple had long gone, the earliest Saxon evidence here being a spearhead and knives perhaps of sixth-or seventh-century date and settlement evidence is from no earlier than the eighth century (Downey et al 1979, 15; Stoodley pers com). To the north at Chalton the Anglo-Saxon village on Church Down shows no sign of occupation before the seventh century (Cunliffe 1976; Champion 1977) and on Chalton Peak, some 2km north, signs of a cemetery were discovered by metal detectorists in 2002, who found a shield boss, spearheads and other fittings, but no details are available so no date can be assigned, but may be of sixth- or seventh-century date (NMR). On Camp Down 2.5km to the west of Havant an Anglo-Saxon cemetery was excavated in the 1970's, producing a total of 89 skeletons. The excavators note that two skeletons were orientated north-south and may be pagan, which indicates that they thought the others were not, but this has been shown not to be necessarily so. No other dating evidence is given (Med, Arch. xxi, 1977, 208), but artefacts dating to the seventh to ninth centuries have been located.

Conclusion:

It appears that though the Havant area was flourishing during early Roman times, and continuing during the later Roman era, in the fifth and sixth,

and into the seventh, century life was at a very low level here. Reasons for this are discussed elsewhere, but this must be the conclusion until further evidence is found to alter knowledge.

Gazetteer for Havant:

SU686 074	NMR_NATINV-238448	Crookhorn, R villa
SU691072	NMR_NATINV-238381	Little Park Wood, R villa
SU692 064	Med Arch xxi	AS cemetery.
SU717 061	OS 120	Havant, Homewell
SU719 054	NMR_NAT-242160 Gilkes 1998	Spes Bona, R villa
SU724 029	NMR_NATINV-242295	Hayling Island temple
SU733 106	NMR_NATINV-892184	Rowlands Castle, kiln
SU734 095	NMR_NATINV-892102	Rowlands Castle, kilns
SU734 144	Champion 1977	Chalton, AS settlement
SU734 173	Cunliffe 1976	Chalton, RB village
SU736 105	NMR_NATINV-892169	Rowlands Castle, kiln
SU737 114	NMR_NATINV-242833	Rowlands Castle, R villa
SZ858 921	OS 120	Selsey Bill
SU859 046	OS 120	Chichester

Funtington

Fig 28 Bosham Stream south of Funtington village.

Funtington at present is a pretty Sussex village lying on the B2178. The A27(T) between Portsmouth and Chichester runs along 2km to the south, and to the north the high ground of the Downs is close, so the village is on the northern edge of the West Sussex coastal plain. Chichester cathedral is 7km south-east as the crow flies, and the county boundary with Hampshire is 5km west. The parish church of St Mary the Virgin is on the south side of the village, and though there is no sign of a spring near the church or in the village, the springs which form the source of Bosham Stream rise in the valley which continues south of the church. There has been controversy over whether the name Funtington has in fact **funta* as its first element. Its earliest record is in the twelfth century as *Fundentone, Fundintune,* 1252 Funtington, and it is difficult not to allow a derivation from **funta* as there are springs locally. It is the second two elements which have caused difficulty, and suggestions have been made as to their derivation. A derivation from *–inga + -tun,* making **funtinga tun,* the settlement of the dwellers by the spring, has been put forward, but there are no parallels for *–inga + -tun > -ington,* and *–inga-* usually has a personal name as first element. Another suggestion has been a derivation from **funting+-tun,* where **funting* is a derivative of **funta. –ing* is a difficult element with various significances (Smith 1953, 282 et seq; Mawer 1920, xxiv; Ekwall 1923; Gelling pers com) and could be added by medieval scribes for unknown reasons (pers obs). Based on present evidence, Funtington is here included in the list of **funta* sites (Mawer et al 1929, I, 60; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18; Watts 2004, 244).

Distances are measured from the church.

Early background:

Funtington lies in a very interesting position when inserted into a map of the area in the LPRIA. There was an important coastal trading post at Selsey, believed to be a local oppidum of the Southern Atrebates, from which power moved later to another oppidum at Chichester following coastal erosion. In common with some other LPRIA oppida, for example Camulodunum and Braughing, entrenchments were created to the north of Chichester and the Selsey peninsula, perhaps to delineate a certain territory. These entrenchments have been subject to examination since the seventeenth century, and various theories put forward about their provenance and dating. The earliest earthworks are now believed to date to between the beginning of the first century BC and the first part of the first century AD, and the pattern of the dykes is quite complicated to the north of Chichester, as they appear to have been modified as required. The Chichester earthworks are seen to form part of a series of discontinuous dykes which stretch from the river Arun in the east to Funtington in the west, and are now seen as a demarcation between the whole coastal plain and the Downs to the north, thus separating the rich farmland of the plain from the downland and the occupants of each from each other. It may be that the complex system near Chichester signifies an alteration of territorial boundaries at some time. The most northerly of the Chichester entrenchments is still known locally as the Devil's Ditch, its western end on the 50m contour about 750m from Funtington where the ground begins to rise quite sharply (Cunliffe and Miles 1984, 50; Magilton 2003; Cunliffe 2005, 172-3; OS 120).

There appears to have been a reasonably dense settlement, both on the coastal plain and further inland, from prehistory. Bronze Age barrows and a farmstead have been found at Bow Hill (NMR), and it is claimed that the Iron Age settlement pattern continued into the Roman period, and although some early villas were new developments (below), others evolved from Iron Age farms, for example Sidlesham on the Selsey peninsula and Chilgrove 1 in the Chilgrove valley, and even Bignor, 20km north-east of Funtington, which became one of the most luxurious villas, has evidence of Iron Age settlement prior to the first building in the late first century. This continuation of occupation from the Iron Age has been demonstrated by excavation at North Bersted near Bognor Regis, at Slonk Hill, Shoreham, and at Bishopstone, though all of these are at some distance from Funtington, and also at Copse Farm, Oving, 10km east of Funtington and at Old Place Farm, Westhampnett, 8km east (Rudling 1982; Bedwin 1984; Scott 1993).

Prior to AD43 Verica, king of the Atrebates, fled to Rome for protection, providing Claudius with an excuse for invasion. After AD43 Roman troops were soon in Chichester, establishing a garrison and a supply base for their advance to the west. It is not known whether Verica was ever restored to his kingdom, but within a few years of the invasion Togidubnus was installed as client king of the Regni, at Chichester, now *Noviomagus Regnensium*, and after his death sometime in the 70's the territory was absorbed into the Roman administrative system. The area and its local aristocracy being very pro-Roman, sumptuous villas began to be erected in the Mediterranean style, some "imposed" on the local pattern of settlement (Rudling 1982, 1998), such as Fishbourne, though some, above, developed from Iron Age farmsteads. It is noticeable that the area of grand villa development extends on the plain and

also north into the Downs, for example at Chilgrove 1, 7.5km north of Funtington, where the villa is built over an Iron Age field system, and at Bignor. This must indicate that if there had been a territorial/political division along the entrenchments, by the time of Togidubnus it was no longer in force. Scott (1993) lists 11 villas within an 8km radius of Funtington, plus two in the Selsey peninsula and the palace at Fishbourne. It is suggested that the territory of the Regni extended from the Meon in the west, north to the Wey, curving south and east across the Weald to the coast at Pevensey (Cunliffe 1973, fig 1), and that this kingdom was created and delimited by the Romans. Roads from Chichester to London (Margary 15, Stane Street) and to Silchester (Margary 155) were built, the latter passing 6km to the east of Funtington. A track may have led to the temple site at Ratham Mill, 2km south, which dates from the late first century and into the second and probably served the local population (Britannia 1983, xiv, 264 – 6). A further temple site is known at Bosham, 5km to the south-east, a track leading from Cutmill Creek to Ratham Mill (Past Matters 2005), and another temple at Bow Hill, 2km north.

Thus in the years prior to, and following, the Roman invasion, Funtington was in an area of prosperity and political security, close to the civitas centre at Chichester.

The late Roman period:

Chichester itself saw a period of expansion in the early fourth century, and the villa estates around Funtington continued to prosper, though only a few of these can be discussed here. In the Chilgrove valley north of Funtington agriculture was always very productive, and the fourth century appears to have been an economically sound time, as heated rooms, mosaics and bath suites were added to enlarged buildings at both Chilgrove 1 and 2 villas. However, in the mid-fourth century times were not so prosperous in Chichester, and likewise at both Chilgrove villas, where fire destroyed parts of both. The coin sequence ends by about 363 at Chilgrove 1, and by about 375 at Chilgrove 2. There was occupation of some sort at both: at Chilgrove 1 the bath-house was robbed, small driers and an ironworking furnace were installed, and at Chilgrove 2 a large bread oven was installed. The two villa estates may have been amalgamated, but their end is unknown (Down 1979). At Upmarden villa, Compton, 4km north of Funtington, baths were added during the fourth century, but excavation is difficult here because of later building. Through Sussex the early "imposed" villas became less sumptuous during the second century, which, it has been suggested, may be because the earlier aristocracy had lost some standing following the death of Togidubnus, but at other villas and farmsteads the economy was still strong until the end of the fourth century, and even at Sidlesham near the coast activity continued until the mid-fourth century despite the threat of piracy (Pitts 1979, no 23). Nearer to Funtington there are traces of Roman occupation but dating is unspecific: at West Stoke, 2.5km east there is a squarish earthwork, and tiles and a pipe have been found, and at Funtington Orchard, 1km west of the church, parts of a mosaic, a statue, coins and tiles have been found (Scott 1993, 187).

In the late Roman period the area around Funtington fell into some decline, though it is obvious from the new installations at Chilgrove 1 and 2 that agriculture was continuing, probably on a different footing from

previously. It may be that the farmsteads and rural sites were maintaining a mixed farming economy sufficient for local needs, but the intense activity and wealth of the earlier Roman period was no longer in evidence.

The early Saxon period:

The initial Saxon settlement of Sussex is believed to be between the Cuckmere and the Ouse, where five fifth-century cemeteries have been found, though early artefacts have been found at Arundel (Stoodley pers com). Highdown, located east of the Arun and some 30km from Funtington, is the closest early cemetery to Funtington to the east, and it is suggested that it may be the cemetery of a settlement of Germanic mercenaries, planted on ceded territory at the western extremity of the original settlement area (Welch 1983, 228). The earliest known Saxon evidence from Chichester is mid-Saxon (Kenny 2006) but there are finds in the area which indicate some rural penetration before this.

At Kingley Vale, West Stoke, 3km north-east of Funtington, potsherds, animal bone and parts of saddle querns have been found, together with a perforated pottery item which may be a cheese-making vessel, whose closest parallels are to be found in Migration period settlements in England and on the Continent. This may, of course, be an heirloom (Welch 1983, 504; WSxSMR). At Bow Hill, near the supposed villa site at West Stoke, a cremation burial site was found 2km north-east of Funtington and 1km from the Kingley Vale site. At Westhampnett, 8.5km east of Funtington, an interesting site was excavated in 1992 and 2001, revealing a Bronze Age settlement and cremation cemetery, an Iron Age religious site, a Romano-British mixed-rite cemetery of the first and second centuries AD and a flat Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery with 10 graves and goods including a Swanton series L spearhead dating to the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries, though knives with broken tips may be of the late sixth to eighth centuries, and also two Anglo-Saxon sunken-featured buildings (Fitzpatrick 1997; NMR). These are the only known possibly early sites near Funtington.

However in 1982 the Apple Down 1 cemetery was discovered, a mixed-rite cemetery with 121 inhumations, 64 cremations and a further 74 inferred cremations, in use from the late fifth to the seventh centuries. This is 7km north of Funtington, and the features of the cemetery indicate that, rather than being linked with the small amount of evidence to the east, the site does in fact show a marked affinity with the south-east Hampshire cemeteries (see elsewhere). Apple Down is in the high downland, Funtington is on the edge of the plain.

Funtington appears to lie in a position between two areas of early Anglo-Saxon penetration, between Highdown in the east and Apple Down in the west. It may be supposed, therefore, that daily life continued for the inhabitants of this small locality during the fifth century, which may be called a sub-Roman enclave, though further excavation may disprove this supposition.

Gazetteer for Funtington:

SU793 153	WSxNMR1192811	Apple Down 1
SU797 124	Down 1979	Upmarden, Pitlands Farm
SU801 081	OS 120	Funtington church
SU810 040	NMR_NATINV-245728	Bosham, villa, temple
SU809064	NMR_NATINV-245746	Ratham Mill temple
SU825 089	NMR_NATINV-245752	West Stoke, Bow Hill
SU820 105	NMR_NATINV-246694	Kingley Vale
SU826 087	OS 120	West Stoke church
SU834 126	Down 1979, 41	Chilgrove 1
SU839 047	OS 120	Fishbourne
SU842 137	Down 1979, 41	Chilgrove 2
SZ855 970	Pitts 1979, no 23	Sidlesham bath-house
SU859 045	OS 120	Chichester cathedral
SU878 062	OS 120	Westhampnett, Old Place Farm

Conclusion:

What now follows is speculative, though based on the evidence available at the time of writing. This evidence suggests a small region with its own discrete history, centred on Winchester and extending west to the Test, south to Southampton Water and east towards, though not as far as, Chichester, and inevitably becoming subsumed by larger and more powerful neighbours.

The suggested sequence is as follows. In the LPRIA, round about the mid-first century BC, a group of people in the lower Itchen valley, the Meon valley and along the coast east towards Selsey were using coinage of the British D quarter-stater type, and also producing and using their own silver coinage, the Hampshire thin silver type, showing similarities to a design of the Coriosolites in Armorica. They had their own ceramic style, called by Cunliffe the St Catherine's – Worthy Down type of saucepan pot ware. Trade links were coastal, to Armorica via Hengistbury Head to the west. There was a temple at Hayling Island, again showing similarities in design to temples in western Gaul. There were obvious affinities and connections between these people and the neighbouring part of Gaul, which was not yet under Roman domination. After the Gallic wars in the mid-first century BC, Rome's power was felt across the Channel by these folk, and Hengistbury declined in importance. The leaders of this group of Hampshire people were based in or near Winchester, a **uentā* or market-centre or important place (Coates 1983 - 4), and became friendly towards Rome, from where they received a spectacular gift of gold torques and bracelets, now called the Winchester treasure. By contrast, the Durotriges to the west were not pro-Roman. The use of the Hampshire thin silver coin declined in the early first century AD, superseded by a new small issue bearing the inscription CRAB, thought to be the ruler's name. Only two CRAB coins have been retrieved, plus a further one bearing the inscription SIIC, who may have succeeded CRAB in the years preceding AD43.

After AD43, Rome recognised this local group of people who had been friendly, and created the civitas of the Belgae with its centre at Venta Belgarum. Pre-Roman territorial divisions were usually respected by the Roman authorities. Even though it has been believed that the Belgae were an immigrant group during the years before the Roman Conquest, as Caesar said, this is now disputed. In any case, building work began at Winchester in about AD60 – 70. The group identity was preserved throughout the years of Roman rule, and though the centre of power at Winchester declined during the fourth century, there were still people living in the area as the cemeteries around the city show. When the Germanic folk arrived on the shores of the Solent, they went up the Wiltshire Avon, and to the Isle of Wight perhaps led by Stuf and Wihtgar or by others of less suggestive names, this event being recorded in the ASC as late as 514. The parcel of land on the lower Itchen and the valleys of the Hamble and Meon was left for the time being, but at some point during the fifth century it was penetrated by Jutish folk, coming either from the Isle of Wight (where rich grave-goods have been found), from Kent or directly from the homeland. The centre of power was no longer Winchester, or the Isle of Wight, but Southampton, where the later seventh-century cemetery at St Mary's has provided evidence of later wealthy and powerful occupants. Cemeteries at Apple Down in West Sussex, Worthy Park near Winchester and in the Meon valley demonstrate a cultural similarity, and a dissimilarity from

those to the north in Hampshire, indicating a separate group of people occupying land between the Itchen and beyond the Meon into West Sussex. Because the group and its territory were small, it was subject to pressure from more powerful neighbours, to begin with the Gewisse from the north who took Hampshire and the Isle of Wight in the seventh century and later became the West Saxons. The Meon valley, where there is no evidence of power in the form of rich grave-goods, became a political football, coming under the rule of West, then East, then finally West Saxon domination, the county boundary being finally fixed arbitrarily.

**funta* sites are often found in liminal, uncertain areas, and there are four along the strip described above. The area between the lower Meon and Chichester was liminal and under different domination for several centuries, which may have implications for the dating and use of the place-name element **funta* and provide and important pointer in the search for the significance of the element in the Old English naming system.

Area 4 East Sussex

This area has three **funta* sites which appear to be grouped politically and geographically. Bedford Well, Eastbourne, is on the coast, Founthill, near Newick, lies some 29km north-west, and F(r)ontridge, near Burwash, some 26km north-north-east, of Bedford Well. About 26km separate Newick and Burwash west to east.

General background:

In the LPRIA this region was occupied by the eastern Atrebates, a group who appear to have had more in common, culturally and politically, with their eastern neighbours the Cantii than with their western neighbours the Southern Atrebates of West Sussex and south Hampshire. The Eastern Atrebates were distinguishable between the Arun and the Cuckmere in the mid-Iron Age, fourth to second centuries BC, by their own ceramic style, the Caburn – Cissbury, which later developed as the Eastern Atrebatic style found between the Adur and Beachy Head and which shows signs of a Kentish influence (Cunliffe 2005, 104, 171). No local coinage style specific to this area has been identified prior to AD43, but Iron Age coins have been found at Pevensey (pre-1864, 3 silver coins), Battle (silver coins of the Iceni) and at Birling (1932, 5 gold plated cores) (Bean 2000, Appendix 1). Settlement in the Iron Age was sparse, as suitable areas were few, but hillforts were established on high ground near the coast, such as Mount Caburn near Lewes and Cissbury north of Worthing, and also further inland on the Downs. No identifiable centre for the region has been located, unless at Newhaven, in contrast with the other Atrebatic regions (Cunliffe 2005, 151). Before AD43 the hillforts were continuously occupied, again in contrast with the pro-Roman region of the Southern and Northern Atrebates, which suggests that these people were, like their Kentish neighbours, anti-Roman (ibid, 172). Some hillforts show signs of ritual activity. The small hillfort at Harrow Hill, west of the Arun, is notable as a large number of skulls, mainly of cattle, were found here in the 1930's, leading the excavators to assume it had been used as a cattle enclosure, but the element OE *hearg*, signifying a pagan shrine or temple, in the name suggests the skulls may have been ritual deposits, though it must be added that it is possible that the skulls may be of early medieval date (Semple 2007, 372 – 3). If they date to Saxon times, they would be similar to the cattle skulls at Yeavering, and the enclosure could be for ritual purposes. Also worth noting is the discovery of what may be the single possible example of a Celtic carved wooden head found in Britain at Footlands Farm, Sedlescombe (and see below for iron production here) comparable to those in Gaul at, for example, Fontes Sequanae near Dijon (Ross 1992, 140).

After AD43 this East Sussex area was probably in the client kingdom of the Regni, under Togidubnus at Chichester, but after his death the territory came under normal Roman control. The civitas appears to have extended as far as Pevensey, more or less co-terminous with the known finds of Eastern Atrebatic pottery and reflected in the furthest east of the villas. The terrain further east was difficult, as the coastal region east of Beachy Head presented at that time a very different aspect: between Beachy Head and Lympne, what is now Romney

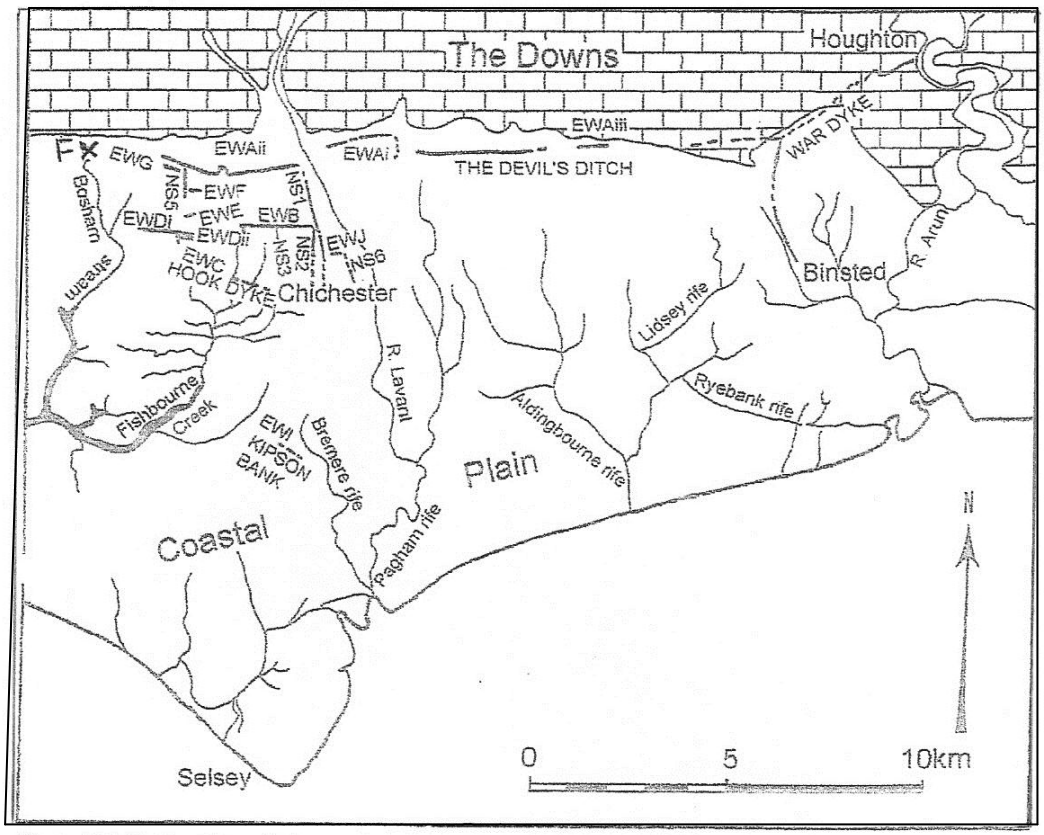


Figure 16.1 Earthworks on the West Sussex coastal plain and their relationship to rivers and streams. No attempt has been made to reconstruct the ancient coastline.

Figure 29 Earthworks on the West Sussex coastal plain.

Adapted from Magilton (2003, 157) to show the position of Funtington in relation to

the Chichester entrenchments.

Marsh was a lowlying area of shallow sea or uninhabitable land inundated in winter, with shallow watercourses and tidal estuaries, the Rother estuary reaching inland as far as Bodiam and the Brede estuary reaching to the north of Hastings. The interior of the region was largely devoted to the mining of iron ore, which by using local timber produced usable iron, with the concomitant need for means of transport to market. Iron production took place here before AD43, for example at Garden Hill, Hartfield where there was also a settlement (Money, 1978, 39) (Fig 30). The availability of iron was known to Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* v, 12) and the industry was quickly developed by the Romans after AD43, the area probably coming under Imperial control, as mineral rights were vested in the Empire, and where this was the case agriculture and settlement were not allowed. Parallels for this exist in Europe (Cleere 1978,62-3). Production sites in the Weald were often short-lived as resources of ore and timber became exhausted. The known locations of Roman iron production fall into two groups (Fig 31).

The eastern group was based near modern Battle (Beauport Park), where production was taking place before AD43, and escalated quickly on large local sites. The industry in this area appears to have been under direct Imperial control, since on certain sites tiles stamped CL BR (Classis Britannica) have been excavated, notably at Beauport Park where more than a thousand were found, though the rôle of the fleet is unclear and may well have been administrative. A network of minor roads and trackways provided access to market, with links from the High Weald to the western main north-south roads, and also to the east to Bodiam where there was a harbour on the Rother, with perhaps another on the Brede, near Sedlescombe. During the third century roads were constructed north to Rochester via Bodiam and north-east to Canterbury (Margary 13 and 130), necessary perhaps because channels and estuaries were silting up, or because of piracy in the Channel. The iron industry in this area declined in importance in the mid-third century, although the site at Footlands, Sedlescombe continued until perhaps AD400, with access to the inland road to the north. Thus the virtual end of the iron industry in this part of East Sussex coincides with the departure of the Classis Britannica from Dover and Lympne (Philp 1981, 96 – 9; Detsicas 1983, 171 – 7) and with the construction of the Saxon Shore forts along this part of the coast, and perhaps also with the silting up of the estuarine transport to the sea and to Dover. The unrest of the late third century had obvious implications for a vulnerable coastal area. The main base of the fleet may have been at Dover, overbuilt in the third century by a Saxon Shore fort, and the beginning of the construction of the fort at Pevensey has been unequivocally dated, by dendrochronology and coin finds, to AD293. This fort was developed during the fourth century and was more or less contemporary with Portchester further to the west and with the large coin hoards at Bullock Down (below), reinforcing the evidence for a time of unrest in south-east Britain, for whatever reason (Fulford and Tyers 1995, 1011-2). The road to Pevensey was apparently constructed to serve the fort, lightly and with short alignments indicating a late date (Margary 1949,187). Pevensey lies at the end of a peninsula, surrounded by tidal estuaries at this period. The Latin name used for the Pevensey fort is commonly Anderida, but this is a sixteenth-century fake and the name is more properly **Anderitu*, when compared with

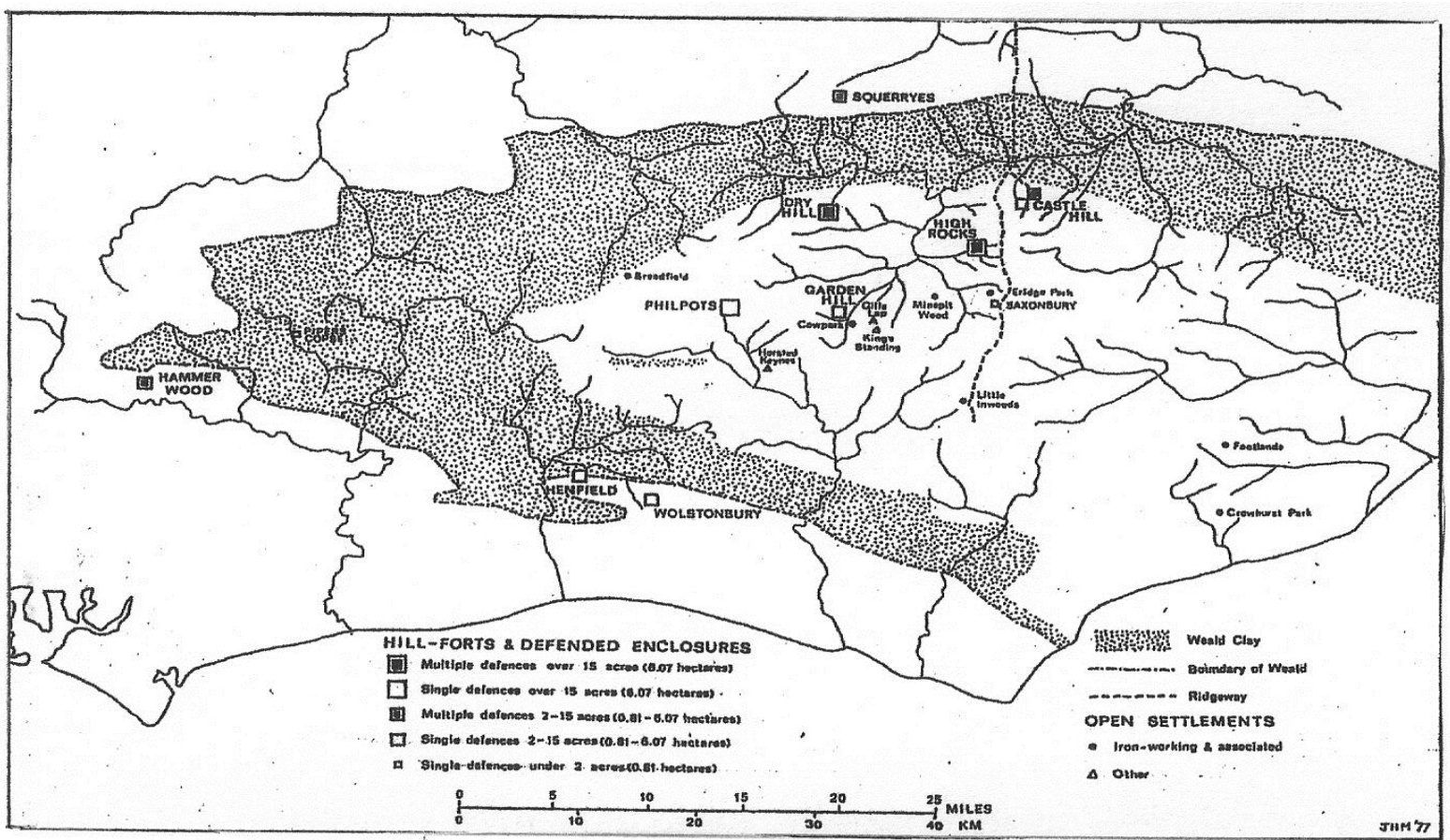


Figure 30 Iron Age sites in the Weald

Taken from Money (1978, 38).

Anderitum in Gaul, now Javols (Lozère), a big ford, from British **ritu*, Gaulish *ritu*, Celtic *rïd*, "ford" with the intensive particle *ande*- (Coates 1991; Gendron 2003, 94, 103).

The western group of iron-producing sites lies spread in the High Weald, served by the main routes north to London and south to the affluent coastal plain (Margary 14 and 50) where there were hungry markets, route 14 using for much of its length in Sussex the slag which was a by-product of the industry. It is suggested that in this area production was managed by civilian entrepreneurs under licence from the Imperium (Cleere 1978, 61-2). Although most of this part of the Wealden industry had ceased before AD300, some smaller sites continued into the later Roman period, though the conspicuous consumption of iron was reduced as the villas declined on the coastal plain.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives its usual aggressive account of the conquest of this part of Sussex during the later fifth century by Aelle and his three sons Cymen, Wlencing and Cissa, who are credited with killing or driving out local inhabitants, taking possession of **Anderitu* and occupying territory by force (*ASC* [A] *sub anno* 491). However, archaeological evidence suggests that early settlement to the west of Beachy Head, between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, and still further west at Highdown nearWorthing, was possibly by treaty agreement (Welch 1983). Highdown is some 65km west of Eastbourne, and the cemetery here begins in the fifth century, continuing in use into the seventh. The re-use of an Iron Age hillfort for this cemetery, at this time, near a Roman site, is perhaps supporting evidence for the presence of mercenaries; an early date is also indicated by the presence of late Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon objects. Carinated vessels, found here and at Alfriston, have continental parallels dating to c400, and graves with late Roman articles together with belt-fittings indicate a date in the first part of the fifth century, which may indicate the presence of mercenaries, but a quoit brooch found in a female grave dates to the late fifth or sixth century (Bell 1978; Drury and Wickenden 1982, 20; Stoodley pers comm.). Extensive excavation at Bishopstone, between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, suggests re-occupation, at the earliest in the second half of the fifth century, of an earlier site, which was then once more abandoned in the seventh century (Welch 1983, 16 – 35; Miles 1982, 284). Settlement treaties such as this are known to have been agreed elsewhere in late Imperial Europe between local authorities and barbarian incomers (Welch 1983, 278) and the area between the Ouse and the Cuckmere, having no large Romano-British villa estates, and west of the settlement at Bullock Down on Beachy Head, may have been available for agreed settlement (Bell 1978, 64). The suggestion of a treaty is reinforced by the name given in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *sa* 485, of the battle at *mearcredesburna (mearc* = territorial limit) when perhaps Aelle wanted to extend his holding, though dates in the *Chronicle* need to be considered with care. It is suggested that the Sussex treaty settlement was later than elsewhere in the country, so Aelle lost no time in exerting what power he had (Welch 1993, 275). This area of probable early Saxon settlement is not close to any of the **funta* sites under consideration, the Cuckmere valley lying some 11km west of Eastbourne beyond the Downs and Beachy Head, 19km south of Newick and a good 29km from Burwash. However, the late fifth-century material from St Anne's Road cemetery, Eastbourne (below), suggests that the

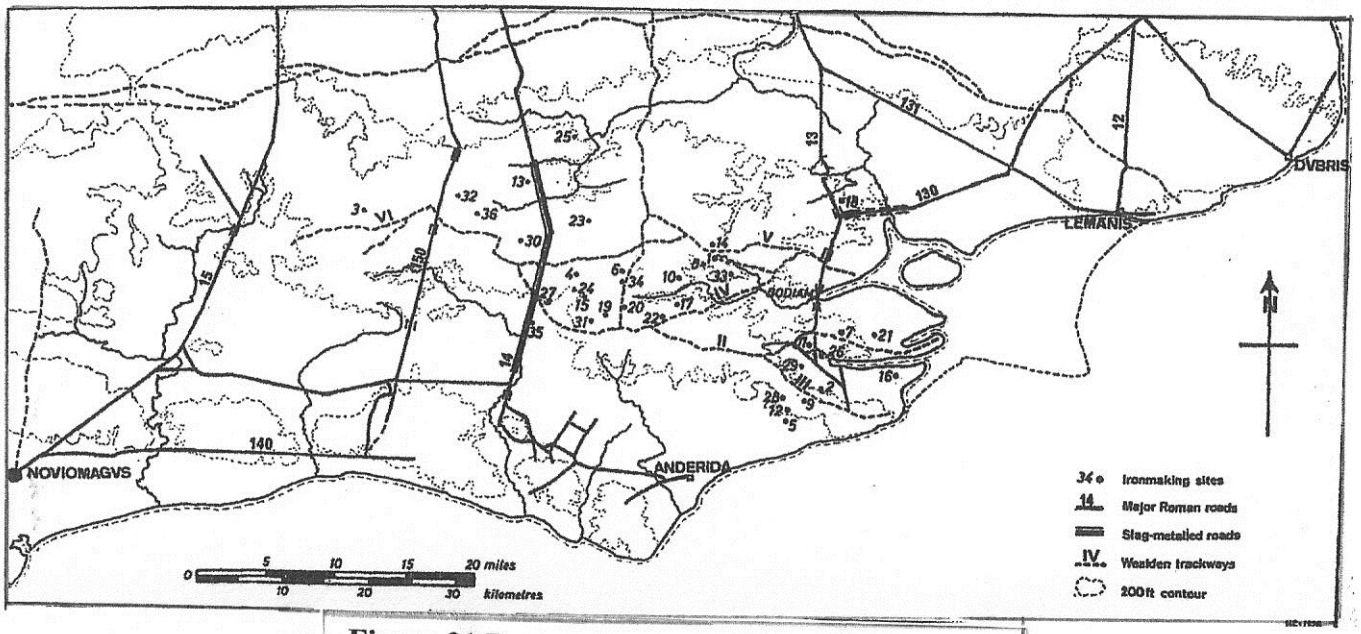


Figure 31 Roman ironmaking sites in the Weald.

Taken from Cleere (1978, 59).

English were not long contained between the Ouse and the Cuckmere; perhaps the latter was the *mearcredesburna* where the battle was and afterwards Aelle went further on still to Pevensey. However, the archaeological evidence of Germanic presence does not necessarily correspond with the entries in the *Chronicle*, and Aelle may well have been a later character. No early Saxon presence is recorded on the coast east of Pevensey, where the territory of the *Haestingas* later formed its own enclave (Welch 1983, 247), nor in the Weald to the north of the coastal area, though later transhumance may have taken place here. The only evidence for continued human presence is the use of place-names from pre-Saxon times.

It is against this background that the three **funta* sites in East Sussex must be considered.

Gazetteer for General Background:

NGR	Source	Details
TQ421 202	OS 135	Founthill Fm
TQ456 317	Cleere 1974, 199	Garden Hill, Hartfield
TQ772 198	" 194	Footlands, Sedlescombe
TV612 998	OS 123	Bedford Well rdbt
TV646 048	OS 123	Pevensey
TQ688 231	OS 136	F(r)ontridge
TQ745 165	OS 124	Battle
TQ783 255	OS136	Bodiam
TQ786 140	Cleere 1974, 191	Beauport Park, Battle
TQ010 470	OS 123	Bishopstone

Bedford Well, Eastbourne

The site at present and its earliest name:

Fig 32 Bedford Well Roundabout.

The only means of identification of a **funta* site here is by place-name evidence, as today the name is used for a road and roundabout on the northern periphery of Eastbourne, on the A2021 which links the coast road to the east with the routes to the north (Fig 32). During the Roman period the area inland from what is now the Eastbourne seafront was largely shallow sea and tidal estuaries (Margary 1949, 187) and fragments of briquetage less than a mile west of Bedford Well indicate saltworks, and therefore salt water, here, as elsewhere in the locality. The earliest name is *Bedefonte, Bedfountwell,* 1486 (Mawer and Stenton 1930, 427) whose first element is either the personal name *Bæda,* or from *byden,* a trough (cf Bedfont, Bedmond). It is at present impossible to locate the exact site of the **funta,* so distances are measured from Bedford Well roundabout.

The Late Roman Period:

Urban areas are notably absent and communications poor. The main London – Lewes route (Margary 14) terminates some 19km to the west, while route 142, running to the north of Bedford Well, links this with Pevensey, a road of purely local importance as Pevensey was built some 7km along the coast to the east (above). A spur leaves route 142 to the west of Bedford Well, running south to the settlement site at Bullock Down, a large rural site some 5km south-west of Bedford Well on the promontory which terminates in modern Beachy Head. Nearby at Frost Hill were two drying ovens and in the area are trackways, a marl pit, pottery, tile and occupation debris, field

systems and evidence of huts (Fig 28). Substantial coin hoards have been found in the area:

1879	over 680 coins in a pot	dated 253 – 275
1899	2073	" 253 – 282
1961	5296	" 254 – 275
1964	173 silver	" 196 – 266
1973	5546 bronze coins in a bucket	" 2c/3c
1980	144 3.5 miles north	

These hoards testify to the importance, and wealth, of the settlement at Bullock Down and to the insecurity in the area during the third century, though Bullock Down continued to be occupied perhaps into the fifth century (Rudling1998, 51). Nearer Bedford Well occupation is indicated, for example at Horsey Bank about 500m to the north-west, by rubbish pits and briquetage, though dating evidence is sparse (NMR). An inhumation burial was found about 2km west-north-west and a Romano-British cemetery some 4km south-west at Pashley Road, excavated in 1913 during roadworks, revealed at least six broken cinerary urns dating to the first century (SAC 58, 1916, 190 – 3). No sites have been found to the east of Bedford Well, as the land was uninhabitable.

There is an absence of villa-type buildings to the north and east of Eastbourne (Rudling 1980, 46), due perhaps to the iron industry or maybe also to the unfavourable soil, aspect, communications and lack of market access. A large building may have existed at Bullock Down, but the most important evidence is from Eastbourne, where excavations in 1712, 1717 and 1848 revealed the site of a villa: this was the most easterly of the early "imposed villas", ie. imposed on the pre-Roman Iron Age settlement pattern when the territory of the Regni formed a client kingdom of the Romans, and some 16km east of the villa at Newhaven (Rudling 1982, 275). Finds from the early excavations at the Eastbourne villa have not been retained, so little dating evidence is available, but possibly it declined during the third century in keeping with the general situation in the area (Scott 1993, 59). The villa at Eastbourne appears to have been located less than 1km from Bedford Well, very near to the modern seafront. It had a bathhouse, a tessellated floor and columns probably leading to a corridor, but does not appear to have been particularly extensive or lavishly decorated. A stone quarry was situated just to the west, where greensand was dug for the construction of Pevensey Castle in the late second century, and about 1km to the west traces of a harbour have been seen. It would appear that the villa or house on this site was built for the people engaged in economic or industrial activity (Gilbert and Stevens 1973).

Thus the evidence for a late Roman presence near Bedford Well is absent, apart from the rural settlement at Bullock Down several kilometres away on the hill.

The Early Saxon Period:

There is evidence for a Saxon presence nearby but not of early date. A hanging bowl escutcheon found at Willingdon, some 6km north-west of Bedford Well, comparable to a disc base found at Chalton, Hants, dates to the late sixth or seventh century (Welch 1983, 343). Late settlement is indicated (ibid, 340) but most evidence is from cemeteries. At Friston on the Downs near Beachy Head possible evidence of cremation and inhumation was found. Excavation has taken place since the early nineteenth century on sites in the western part of modern Eastbourne, along the north-west – south-east ridge known as Ocklynge Hill. The nearest excavation to Bedford Well is some 750m to the west at The Grange, now the site of college of further education, at the corner of St Anne's Road and Watts Lane and in the cemetery now known as St Anne's Road cemetery. Here finds of Frankish material, quoit and disc brooches in 145 inhumation burials and 16 cremations point to a date commencing in the mid-fifth century and lasting to the mid-seventh century, with a main phase of late fifth to sixth century (Stoodley pers com). This is the earliest Saxon material to be excavated locally. In 1997 late Iron Age pits, some with burials, were found to underlie the site. In 1928 – 9 a spearhead of Swanton Type F2 was found, a type first appearing in the sixth century but more commonly dated to the seventh century. The later part of the cemetery, adjoining the earlier to the north-west, has features consistent with a Final Phase date, though many items recovered cannot now be securely identified, and two inhumations nearby at Compton Place Road may be of earlier date. Other cemetery evidence has been found along Ocklynge Hill, and it is thought that this extensive cemetery complex served an as yet unexcavated settlement site (ibid, 339 - 42). A further cemetery at Crane Down, Willingdon is also dated to Final Phase. Thus the earliest probable dating for a Saxon presence on the hill here seems to be seventh century. Evidence for late Roman/early Saxon presence closer to the Bedford Well roundabout itself is lacking. It is probable that this immediate area saw a decline in activity during the late third century when Channel piracy was a threat, Pevensey fort was built and the hoards were deposited at Bullock Down.

Gazetteer for Bedford Well

NGR	Source	Details
TV545 990	Welch 1983, 344-5	Friston, ?S inhum, crem
TQ571 003	OS 123, Cole 1985	Willingdon Hill, springs
TV572 960	NMR_NATINV-970960	Frost Hill, RB site
TV577 966	NMR_NATINV-970605	Bullock Down RB settlement
TV580 980	EHNMR 626711	Pashley Rd RB cem
TQ590 000	Welch 1983, 334	Ocklynge Hill S cems
	NMR_NATINV-408541	
TV600 990	EHNMR-1124371	St Anne's Road cem
TV603 003	NMR_NATINV-411869	RB pit, saltworks
TV612 998	OS 123	Bedford Well rdbt
TV615 985	Scott 1993, 59	Eastbourne villa
	NMR_NATINV-1083609	
TQ646 048	OS 123	Pevensey

Founthill, Newick:

The site at present and its earliest name:

Fig 33 Founthill Farmhouse.

Founthill Farm lies on a north-facing slope overlooking a shallow valley with Newick village less than 1km away on the opposite slope, and Founthill Wood some 1km to the north-east. The farmhouse is an early sixteenth-century timber-framed oblong construction (Nairn and Pevsner 1965, 572) (Fig 33). The earliest mention of the name is in that of Matilda *atte Funte* and Simoun *atte Founte* (1296, 1327 Lay Subsidy Rolls) (Mawer and Stenton 1930, 317). It is worth noting that no simplex of **funta* exists as a place-name today. Since it is impossible to pinpoint the exact location of the original **funta*, distances are measured from Founthill Farm. However, the hill overlooks a valley where about 1km west springs give rise to a stream which flows east to join the Ouse, and on the south side of the hill more springs form a further tributary stream. The name Founthill must refer to the hill between the valleys. The Ouse forms a natural boundary apparently used in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

The Late Roman period:

There are no urban areas in this part of Roman Sussex. The farm lies less than 3km to the west of the London – Lewes road (Margary 14), with the western group of iron-working sites to the east and north, the nearest bloomery perhaps at Chailey 2km to the east. These small sites were probably in use only for a short time while resources of ore and timber lasted, and the latest in date near to Founthill is at Oldlands, Maresfield, more than 8km to the north-east, a large site extending over at least 3ha and lasting from the first to the fourth centuries.

There are stray finds and occupation debris within a 10km radius of Founthill; 8km to the south-west at Plumpton roof, floor and flue tiles with painted plaster and tesserae indicate a dwelling, probably first- to third-century, and 5.5km to the south-west at Wickham Barn two kilns date to perhaps the late third century. Some 5.5km south at Barcombe is the site of a probable villa-type building, with roof-tile and pottery, but the only evidence to date of agriculture in the area is at Views Wood, Uckfield, some 5km east-north-east, where a probably first-century drying oven was found.

Founthill was not in the main iron-producing area, nor in an agricultural area, nor in an area of any notable population, but within 3km of a main route

The early Saxon Period:

There appears to be no evidence of an early Saxon presence here. The church has Norman-style work which is not necessarily pre-Conquest, and Newick is first recorded as *Nywyke* in 1296 (Mawer and Stenton 1930,316). The use of the toponym *funte* (above) demonstrates a continuing need to name the area from pre-Saxon times, and the valley would have offered a small piece of workable land in a generally inhospitable area.

Evidence for late Roman/early Saxon presence here is lacking.

Gazetteer for Founthill

NMR	Source	Details
TQ360 147	NMR_NATINV-974745	Plumpton bldg debris
TQ390 150	EHNMR1319408	Wickham Barn R kilns
TQ394 195	OS 122	Chailey R bloomery
TQ418 143	NMR_NATINV-618719	Barcombe R villa
	Scott 1993, 58	
TQ421 202	OS 122	Founthill Fm
TQ470 220	Cleere 1978, 61	Uckfield R oven
	EHNMR626353	
TQ476 268	Cleere 1974,197	Oldlands R iron site

F(r)ontridge, Burwash:

The site at present and its earliest name:

Fig 34 F(r)ontridge, looking east along the ridge.

As the name suggests, F(r)ontridge Lane runs west-east along a ridge, some 10km south of the modern border with Kent, with Fonthill Farm and Fontridge Manor lying on the north side, overlooking the valley (Fig 34). The spelling Fontridge will be used here as the modern spelling F(r)ontridge is corrupt; the name is attested in 1248 as *Fonteregg'*, compound of **funta* and *hrycg* (Mawer and Stenton 1930, 462). *hrycg* was not unusually combined with topographical features and structures (Gelling and Cole 2000, 191). The ridge overlooks to the north the valley of the River Dudwell, and to the south an area of flattish high ground. Distances are measured from Fonthill Farm as the site of the original **funta* is unknown and the farm lies toward the middle of the lane. Springs are shown in the area (OS 136, 124).

The Late Roman Period:

Fontridge lies in the High Weald area of eastern Roman iron production, near to Etchingham where the Dudwell flows into the Rother (Fig 32). The harbour at Bodiam and the crossing of the Rother by route Margary 13 lie some 10km east of Fonthill Farm. The important iron-producing site at Bardown is 6km north-north-west, where production continued to cAD220, activity then moving to satellite sites such as Shoyswell, 5km north and Furnace Gill, 3km west-north-west. It is probable that at Bardown pottery and tiles were also produced, and twenty-eight CLBR tiles were found here. Any available ridgeway provided a route for the transport of usable iron from the bloomeries (Margary 1965, 258), and the ridge along which F(r)ontridge Lane runs is parallel with the ridge identified by Margary as a ridgeway, Track IV,

linking with other trackways in the Weald to give access in all directions (ibid, 263).

No large buildings of the Roman period are known locally, which is not surprising if the area were assigned to Imperial iron production.

The Early Saxon Period:

No physical evidence is available from this time, but the church at Burwash, described as Norman, indicates a population if not in the eleventh century, at least in the twelfth when its name is recorded as Burgers or Burhersce (Mawer and Stenton 1930, 461). Across the valley Tott Wood and Tott Farm suggest that the trackway continued in use with a beacon here.

Thus the evidence suggests that Fontridge lay near a busy production area in Roman times, though the activity may have changed outlet in the later years, and the trackways may have continued in some sort of use into the Saxon period. Actual settlement evidence is lacking until much later.

Gazetteer for Fontridge:

NGR	Source	Details
TQ650 238	NMR_NATINV-969294	Furnace Gill bloomery
TQ663 292	NMR_NATINV-412095	Bardown bloomery
TQ681 279	NMR_NATINV-412098	Shoyswell bloomery
TQ688 231	OS 136	Fonthill Farm
TQ690 250	OS 136	Tott Wood
TQ783 255	OS 136	Bodiam bridge

Conclusion:

It is difficult to group these sites apart from territorially. They are all on the edge of the LPRIA Eastern Atrebatic region, when the coast east of Pevensey was impenetrable marsh which stretched for some distance inland and also formed a natural barrier indicated by the eastern limit of the local pottery style, which also extends up the Ouse to the Newick (Founthill) area (Cunliffe 2005, 112, fig 5.9). The Fontridge trackway leads to the port at Bodiam, the limit of local iron production. These limits were preserved into the Roman period, with Eastbourne villa the furthest east and local iron production continuing at least into the mid-Roman period, though Roman activity is sporadic around Newick. Beachy Head and Eastbourne are at the limit of early Saxon penetration, by treaty or otherwise, so this was the area of early settlement, whereas beyond Pevensey there is evidence of a later enclave settled by the Haestingas, and the place-name element *–feld* may indicate later clearing in the Wealden area (Gelling and Cole 2000, 269 – 278; Roberts and Wrathmell 2002, 21 – 3). The Wealden areas would have been peripheral to primary Saxon settlement, occupied as population grew in the later medieval period (Yorke pers com). It appears that landscape and terrain were the determining features of human settlement in the area, and that the **funta* was a defining element.

Area 5 The Kent/Surrey border.

This area has a single **funta* site, Pitchfont, now the name of a farm and a lane.

Fig 35 Pitchfont Farm seen from the north.

The site at present and its earliest name:

Today Pitchfont lies in the county of Surrey some 2km to the west of the county boundary with Kent. The farm itself is in a favourable position, facing south, protected to the north by the scarp of the North Downs which here runs east-west, and overlooking a pleasant valley where the nascent River Eden flows south-westward (Fig 35). The M25 runs west to east about 500m south of the farm. At the farm the spring is not obvious, particularly during the late summer period, but is immediately to the east of the farm buildings and appears as a damp hollow filled with vegetation, presenting sometimes as a boggy patch where the clay meets the chalk (Mr Peters, farmer, pers.com, and pers obs).

Extensive management of surface water took place during the eighteenth century, when the village of Titsey, together with its ancient church, was moved some 500m to the east to enable the then owners of the land to create a park and dwelling, which in its turn was re-constructed in the mid-nineteenth century to allow the present Titsey Place and gardens to be created. The spring-line continues along the bottom of the scarp and a spring emerges in the formal gardens (www.titsey.org/pages/spring.htm).

The earliest entries for the name are *Pychefronte* (sic) AD1391, *Pichesfunte* 1402, *Pychezfount* 1505, possibly from the genitive of the personal name *Picca* + **funta*. The first element may also occur in nearby Pitchers Wood (Gover et al 1934, 324). The suggestion that pitch may occur

locally is rejected by the farmer (pers. com). The earliest names therefore compare with the names of other **funta* sites such as Chadshunt, Fovant etc. which are formed in a similar fashion. Another local name from a pre-English source is that of Limpsfield, 3km south, 1086 *Limenesfeld(e),* the first element of which compares with Lympne, Kent and occurs in Gaulish *Lemonum,* possibly deriving from a British word occurring in Irish as *lem, wllwyf* "elm" (Ekwall RN 243).

General background:

This is an area of terrain which would have been difficult to negotiate for travellers before the advent of modern systems of communication: not only are the steep slopes of the North Downs a barrier to the north, but to the south the ground rises sharply again to the inhospitable Wealden area. The only easy passage is to the east and west along the narrow valley, and even then there are steep hills. The chalk of the North Downs is topped by a layer of clay with flints, difficult to till without heavy equipment, and the soils of the Wealden mass are variable and patchy. During the LPRIA the area appears to have supported no density of population, as evidence is either absent or has yet to come to light. Some undated Iron Age activity is shown about 1.5km to the north of Pitchfont on higher ground, where ditches have been located. The hillfort at Squerryes is 4km south-east across the valley, that at Keston 10km away to the north across the Downs and the enclosed oppidum at Oldbury 18km east, while 7km to the west is War Coppice, Caterham, an Iron Age hillfort with single and double ramparts and a ditch on the north and west sides, excavated in 1950 by Mr Brian Hope-Taylor (Bourne Society Bulletin 1998, 174, 18). Ceramic evidence is lacking and numismatic evidence sparse, though what there is may be linked to all three of the pre-Roman Kentish issues (Cunliffe 2005, 167, Figs 7.13, 7.14). On present evidence Pitchfont lay to the west of the territory of the Cantii, north of the Wealden iron sites of the Eastern Atrebates and south of the Downs which formed a barrier between it and the Thames, truly in a no-man's-land of importance to no-one and of no immediate interest to the leaders of the Claudian invasion in AD43.

However the road from London to Lewes (Margary 14) is believed to have been laid down soon after AD100, its early date obvious from its accurate alignments and solid construction. It crosses the North Downs south of London with a difficulty to be seen in its short, angled stretches, and runs about 2km to the east of Pitchfont farm, where its course deviates, perhaps to pass by a site where pre-Roman pottery was found, for this site was probably already of some ritual significance in this apparent no-man's-land, situated just under the brow of the escarpment near an east-west track and apparently in border territory between tribal areas (Blagg 1986, 21; Bird 2004, 140). A Romano-British temple was soon built on this site, for building waste in the lower metalling of the road indicates that road and temple were constructed at the same time, when the Wealden iron industry was developing to the south and transport was needed. The temple was of the usual Romano-Celtic type, with an almost square cella set in an ambulatory, and may have had accommodation for visitors, as a box-flue tile has been found here. The importance of the temple is indicated by the presence of building material from Gaul, and a bronze mask which may be attributed to Neptune and which

is now in Guildford museum (Surrey SMR; Bird 2004, 177). The bend in the road near the temple is comparable to those at Ewell and Springhead, and it is on the spring-line with nearby springs which are the source of the Eden and feed the Darent, indicating the possible importance of water (Margary 1949, 125; Bird 2004).

The local rural area has produced a few stray finds of Roman material: some third-century coins about 2km to the north-east on the hill, a Romano-British storage jar with an iron implement 1km to the south in the valley, pottery and building evidence within 2km to the south-east and pottery to the south along the line of the A25 in the valley. Roman brooches, arrowheads and axes were found at Woldingham 3km to the west beyond high ground. At Moorhouse sandpit 3km to the south-east a Roman kiln, ditches and a possible building were found, together with Iron Age and medieval features. However, the most impressive evidence of Roman presence is the excavated villa complex which lay 500m to the east of the spring at the farm. The villa site was first excavated during the nineteenth century and the excavation comprehensively written up and published (Leveson-Gower 1869). Further work was undertaken and reported at the beginning of the twentieth century (Fox 1905), when it was suggested that fulling was carried out in the complex. This is now disputed (Bird and Bird 1987, 194 n39) as fulling was usually an urban industry, but given the distance from any urban area, and the proximity of the road for transport, the suggestion may not be totally discounted. The villa may have had a *nymphaeum* based on a spring (Bird 2004, 144). A resistivity survey (unpub) was carried out in 1996 to assess the extent of the complex, which showed that it was a rare combination of two winged villas facing each other across a stream with a courtyard area in the lower, wetter part, a large building on a third side and possibly a further building on the fourth side. Resistivity surveys provide no dating evidence, but it may be that the complex survived to the fourth century (below). (This information was provided by Surrey CC SMR office.)

No other large Roman building is known locally, the closest being a small villa at Chelsham 5km north-west dated to the first to third centuries and a large villa estate centre at Keston, 9km to the north. Both these sites are separated from Pitchfont by the North Downs which here rise to a height of 260m (OS 146, 147) and so present a considerable barrier. Other evidence of a slight Roman presence is3km to the south at Limpsfield where seven cinerary urns, probably no later than third century, were found in 1892. Burial evidence also exists at Oxted to the south, and 2km to the north-east of the site up the hill. Dating evidence is not precise.

The late Roman period:

At the Titsey villa complex coin and pottery evidence indicate occupation from the late second century until the early fourth century, the evidence from the nineteenth century excavation including a late Roman beaker base from Trier and a sherd from a New Forest beaker of a type which began to be produced c260 – 270. Finds in 1996 included pottery dating to the third and fourth centuries, with rim shapes of late Romano-British style and Oxford ware which was only distributed at all widely from the mid-third century (Bird 1987, 170 – 1, 175: SySMR). It appears thus that the villa

complex continued to be occupied into the fourth century, and it may be that as at some other villa estate centres elsewhere in Britain, occupation may have continued throughout the Roman period, albeit on a less luxurious level than previously. Such a settlement in such a remote area would probably have been self-sufficient for a long time, though leaving little trace of its existence into sub-Roman times.

The early Saxon period:

Local settlement evidence is sparse, even lacking. The closest is at Keston, above, where a sunken-featured building dated to the sixth century was excavated in the same area as the Roman villa, and no other closer settlement is known. Local evidence from this period is limited, but a few stray finds have been reported. At Botley Hill Farm, 1km to the north-west on the hill, a saucer brooch dated to the late fifth or early sixth century, and nearby a small-long brooch dated to the sixth century, were found (SMR). There is slight cemetery evidence for this period, as at Godstone 5km to the south-west, a cinerary urn and armlet were found but are not dated. These are the only sites not separated from Pitchfont by the Downs.

It is necessary to look much further to the north for convincing evidence of early Saxon burials, to the large mid-fifth-century cemeteries to the south of London, the closest at Sanderstead perhaps 10km to the north-west, at Croydon some 14km and at Mitcham some 20km beyond this. These are all considered to lie within the hinterland of London and to be connected with the London area, which did not expand out into the surrounding territory but is contained inside the northern dip slope of the Downs (Poulton 1987, 199; Hines 2004a, 93).

The absence of real evidence of an early Saxon presence in the valley where Pitchfont lies may be linked to the nearby bank and dyke earthwork which runs north-south, and can still be seen at Moorhouse 3km south-east of Pitchfont where it crosses the A25 and forms the county boundary between Surrey and Kent (Fig 36). The county boundary continues north, to join the line of the Roman road, but with a curve to include Tatsfield in Surrey. It is suggested that this earthwork may have been created to mark the boundary between Kent and Surrey, after the battle described in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sa*568 (Clark 1960; Swanton 1996, 18; Hines 2004, 98), though the boundary between these two counties is unlikely to have been fixed at such an early date. It may, however, mark a longstanding boundary of uncertain origin, which became the county boundary in due course. Westerham, about 1km east of the county border, is the most westerly settlement in West Kent.

At some point before the Norman Conquest a church was built near the villa complex, mentioned in Domesday and its location known from its existing foundations, near Pitchfont spring, but in order to facilitate the establishment of the Titsey estate in the eighteenth century, a new church was built in a different location, leaving the original church site still to be excavated as it is not covered by building. It may also be added that Tandridge village, 4km south-west of Pitchfont, was the meeting-place of Tandridge hundred, and that a suggestion has been made that the first element of the name signifies lights on the ridge where the hundred met. The derivation

suggested is from OE **tendan* (W Germ **tandjan*, to light or kindle, Mod Germ zünden (Kristensson 1999).

Thus Pitchfont is in an area of small significance in itself, but may have been close to a site of ritual importance in the Iron Age, which continued into the Roman and the early Saxon periods, near the meeting-place of territories and then the hundred. Other springs in the area are not dignified with the **funta* element.

Gazetteer for Pitchfont.

NGR	Source	Details
TQ297 658	Bird 2004, 101	Beddington villa
TQ325 650	NMR_NATINV-404037	Croydon cemetery, 5-7c
TQ347 504	NMR_NATINV-403959	Godstone, Saxon urn
TQ370 590	EHNMR1335230	Chelsham villa
TQ371 554	NMR_NATINV-403744	Woldingham, R brooches
TQ392 554	SSMR3894,5	Botley Hill Fm, S brooches
TQ396 529	SSMR1256	Oxted, RB burials
TQ396 529	SSMR2623	Limpsfield, 3c urns
TQ401 546	OS147	Pitchfont Farm
TQ402 520	NMR_NATINV-407490	Limpsfield 7 R urns
TQ404 545	SSMR5247	Titsey villa
TQ408 560	SSMR1323	3 R-B crem burials on hill
TQ414 560	SSMR1313	R coins
TQ413 632	NMR_NATINV-407834	Keston villa
TQ414 542	SSMR3526	R pottery, building
TQ421 549	SSMR1348, 4712	RB temple
TQ430 534	NMR_NATINV-407420	Moorhouse

Fig 36. The border between the counties of Surrey and Kent.

These photographs were taken from the A25 at Moorhouse, and show the bank-and-ditch earthwork which may be the original territorial demarcation after Kent annexed what is now known as West Kent.
a) Entering Kent. The notice is on the western side of the bank, by the end of the ditch.
b) The road cuts through the earthwork at this point. This view is looking north and shows the county marker. The earthwork then continues northward to the scarp of the North Downs.
c) The northward continuation towards the Downs.
d) Looking south from the A25 at the same point. The ground slopes down toward the bottom of the valley where the baby River Darent flows from west to east, from right to left in the photo, and then on to Westerham, continuing east then north into the Darent valley. The ground which can be seen rising in the distance is the beginning of the slope up to the Weald. Squerryes Court is about 1km east of here.

Figure 36 the border between the counties of Surrey and Kent.

Area 6 South-east London, north-west Kent.

This area has one **funta* site, Wansunt, in Bexley.

Fig 37 Looking towards Cavey's Spring, near Wansunt Road.

The site at present and its earliest name:

Wansunt Road lies in Greater London, in the borough of Bexley, though before the creation of Greater London in the twentieth century Bexley was in West Kent, an area which stretched from the Medway in the east to the border with Surrey to the west of Westerham. Only the name Wansunt Road gives a clue to the place-name. The road runs in a loop from the top of the hill, the A2018, leading from Old Bexley in the Cray valley toward the Dartford by-pass. The Cray is about 1 km away down the hill to the north, and to the south of the A2018, opposite the end of Wansunt Road, is an area of uncultivated, wooded land, then the managed woodland of Joyden's Wood. It is impossible now to locate any actual **funta* site, and no springs are recorded on modern large-scale maps, though the name Cavey's Spring is marked on the uncultivated land (Fig 37) and on the western edge of Joyden's Wood, near the parish boundary with Sidcup, Hadlow Well is marked, which is described in 1941 as a spring pond and as the only permanent source of water in the wood (OS 162; Hogg 1941, 17).

The earliest record of the name is in 1270, *de Wantesfonte* (Wallenberg 1934, 14),probably a personal name *Want* + **funta*. In other place-names composed in this way, eg.Havant, Urchfont, the element **funta* refers to a spring rather than a stream. Since no spring appears, an arbitrary decision has been taken to measure distances from the junction of Wansunt Road with the A2018.

General Background:

It is quite difficult to define the area in which Wansunt lay prior to AD43, and suggestions are based on minimal evidence. It was not part of the rich LPRIA region of eastern Kent, but rather an area of uncertain allegiance. Ceramic evidence shows that in the Wansunt area, as well as the widespread grog-tempered ware, there was also a type of shell-gritted ware used here and in south-east Essex (Cunliffe 2005, 167, fig7.14). There are also finds of Patchgrove ware, a Kentish Romano-British grog-tempered ware shared with east Surrey (Hanworth 1987, 142, 162 – 3; Tomber and Dore 1996, 376). Numismatic evidence shows that in the years following the Gallic wars east Kent was minting its own small coinage, but coins of the Trinovantian/ Catuvellaunian dynasy of Dubnovellaunus in Essex were also in use here, and around the turn of the millennium Atrebatic coins of Eppillus were in use, until cAD10 when Cunobellinus took power in Essex, and coins of his dynasty were used in this area until AD43 (Cunliffe 2005, 146, 165 – 7, fig 7.14).

Thus there are suggestions of possible allegiance to three different cultural or tribal entities, with the area around Wansunt functioning as a border region. It may be that the lack of evidence indicates a lack of human occupation, as there were easier places to live than the North Downs. Oldbury, 16km to the south-south-east, was the nearest LPRIA oppidum, and Keston, 10km to the south-south-west, a hillfort, both separated from Wansunt by the North Downs. The Cray may have marked some boundary between the Medway and the Ravensbourne, and it figures as a territorial marker some centuries later (below). After the foundation and development of London Wansunt lay only about 16km from the first bridge over the Thames at Southwark, where the new town was soon built: timbers with felling dates of AD 47 – 48 have been identified, and it is mentioned by Tacitus as a trading centre at the time of the Boudiccan revolt of AD 60/61 (Perring and Brigham 2000, 120 – 3). As the lowest crossing point of the river, the bridge at Southwark became central to the communications system and the town grew quickly, needing a *territorium* to support it, and it is suggested that a surrounding area of radius roughly 32 km was used in this way, which included the Cray valley and the Darent valley further east (Perring 1991, 46 – 7). If this is so, in early Roman times Wansunt must be considered as a London site, not a Kentish one, as it was dominated by the proximity of Londonium and the Thames crossing. The route from Canterbury to London, now known as Watling Street (Margary 1c), crossed the Cray 2 km north of Wansunt at Crayford, which grew up as a roadside settlement. Other settlements grew at intervals along the road, that at Springhead (*Vagniacae*) lying some 10 km on the road to the east and apparently developing on a pre-Roman site where there were sacred springs (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 192 - 8). The road continued in use through the Roman period, and there is evidence of third- and fourth-century occupation at Springhead (Boyle and Early 1999, 1,9). At Dartford, which grew at the point where the road crosses the Darent some 4 km to the east, there is evidence of occupation through the Roman period (Detsicas 1983, 80; Scott 1993,104). A road ran from Springhead south-west to join the main London-Lewes route (Margary 14) near West Wickham church, 1 km south of

present West Wickham, thus providing a link in this direction without a need to go into London. It is now believed that the settlement which grew up at this junction is in fact *Noviomagus*, previously identified, erroneously, with Crayford (Philp 2002, 29, 32 – 4), and this identification has implications for the place-name West Wickham. Proximity to London and easy communication into eastern Kent also encouraged the growth of farms and villas, and the fertile soil in both the Cray and Darent valleys provided rich and productive agricultural land which was farmed throughout the Roman period. Finds from this period abound in these valleys and in the Dartford area, though in this and in the Cray valley dense building now obscures the landscape and much valuable evidence is lost (Detsicas 1983, 86 – 7). Evidence of Roman presence in the area close to Wansunt has been found (below).

The late Roman period:

The evidence found closest to Wansunt is in the south-east corner of Joyden's Wood 2 km south, where there is the site of a Romano-British settlement with filled ditches and a small kiln/drier. Pottery and flue-tile fragments date this settlement to the first and second centuries, with re-occupation in the fourth century; as no evidence of masonry was found, the settlement probably consisted of timber buildings with a tiled roof (Tester and Caiger 1954; Detsicas 1983, 156; Black 1987, 142).Other nearby sites include Hall Place on the Cray 1 km away where an inhumation in a lead coffin was found with third- or fourth-century pottery, and at Wilmington 4 km to the east a building with a hypocaust shows evidence of occupation in the Cray valley in the third and fourth centuries (Scott 1993, 109). Along the road to West Wickham there is evidence of occupation: at Pilgrim's Hill, St Paul's Cray, 5 km south-west, a great deal of building material including third- and fourth-century tegulae and flue tiles was recovered, while further along the road at Fordcroft, Poverest, Orpington, (*Odasium*), where the road crosses the Cray, there was a bath-house and evidence of a settlement (Philp 2002, 34). Further along at Crofton near Orpington station, some 7 km south-west, a known substantial building was finally properly excavated in 1988, to reveal a villa-house begun in the first century with alterations including a bath-house, tessellated floors and culminating in the late third century addition of five new heated rooms. This appears to have been the centre of a large farming estate at the head of the Cray valley, with good communications to London, Kent and Sussex (Philp 2002, 163 – 6), and probably functioning into the fifth century.

The details given above provide merely a sample of the evidence to show that occupation in the Cray valley near where Wansunt lay was, during late Roman times, dense and continuous. Along the Darent valley to the east lay a succession of villa estates, the largest of which was that at Darenth, about 6 km east of Wansunt over the higher ground between the two river valleys. Here the large villa complex dated to the first to fourth centuries included a great aisled farm building of at least fifteen rooms, with two large driers, where produce could be stored (Philp 2002, 75). A similar granary was also part of the villa complex at Horton Kirby further upstream (Philp 2002, 97), but perhaps the best-known villa site in the Darent valley

was the Lullingstone villa at Eynsford, again upstream. Occupation on this site was intermittent from pre-AD 43 until after the withdrawal of Roman authority in the fifth century, with periods of recession and of expansion indicating important agricultural activity: a large granary and a tannery were added in the fourth century. These villas indicate not only occupation but also intense farming activity with very large storage facilities added, perhaps linked to the payment of taxes in kind and the need for large quantities of grain to be shipped to the Roman army in north-west Europe in the later years of the Western Empire. This area was important and thriving in the late Roman era.

The Lullingstone villa has important evidence for religious change and the growth of Christianity during the late Roman period: a pagan shrine of about AD 100 within the villa became a *nymphæum* around AD 180, then a temple-mausoleum was established about AD 300, developing into a Christian site and a house-church by the end of the fourth century, with features such as wall-paintings showing *orantes* and the *chi-rho* symbol which indicate an established Christian practice. It may be that the house-church provided a meeting place for local residents as well as for the villa inhabitants, becoming a sacred site close to which a Saxon church was established in due course. The villa was destroyed by fire in the early fifth century (Meates 1979; Detsicas 1983, 108 – 115; Black 1987, 46, 147 – 9). Other religious sites during Roman times include a probable temple 12 km west on Watling Street, in Greenwich Park, which may have continued in use until the fourth century (Detsicas 1983, 145), and a large temple complex 11 km east at Springhead, again on Watling Street, some parts of which continued to be used into the fourth century (Blagg 1982, 59; Wallower 2002). This complex was extensive and subject to reconstruction on various plans, lying mainly within the settlement although Springhead 8 is 1km south of the main settlement (Rodwell 1980,564 – 8). The road at Springhead has a double bend, just like the road at Titsey (Surrey) near the temple there, and it may be that the bends emphasise the importance of the temple.

It is clear that the part of the country in which Wansunt lies was throughout the Roman period an area of continuous and developing activity, economically and politically dynamic, with reconstruction and modernisation on some sites as the economy developed, and open to the new religion of Christianity which, in the period after AD 313, may also imply the political and administrative involvement of the important local residents in the business of the province (Petts 2003, 103 – 114).

The early Saxon Period:

Germanic settlement in eastern Kent is recorded historically in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This part of Kent prospered, and the Chronicle lists details of battles at *Ægelsþrep* (Aylesford?) and *Crecganford* (Crayford?) in the mid-fifth century, which purport to relate to the annexation by East Kent of the area between the Medway and London, which then became West Kent in which Wansunt lies. These entries appear to have more to do with propaganda than with historicity, and the settlement of both parts of Kent, together with the takeover of West Kent by East Kent, is demonstrated more

credibly by the archaeological record. This reveals that the two areas of Kent were settled in the fifth century by different groups of people, whose artefacts and rites show that they were from different parts of north-west Europe and that they used different entry points into Britain, East Kent being settled by people from Scandinavia and Jutland via the Wantsum channel, and West Kent being settled by Saxons via the Thames estuary and into the valleys of the rivers to the south of it, the Darent, Cray and Ravensbourne. East Kent became rich and powerful, and the annexation of West Kent by East Kent, which is also apparently demonstrated in the archaeological record, was apparently complete by AD 604 when new sees were established at London and Rochester (Bede HE II, 3), but although Bede specifies that London was established for the benefit of the East Saxons north of the Thames estuary, he offers no information as to the probable extent of the Rochester see. Since Rochester lies on the Medway, the original western boundary of East Kent, it is likely that its diocese included West Kent as far as London. Thus Wansunt became a Kentish site in early Saxon times. The diocesan boundary would probably have changed as the political situation changed.

But before this the influence of London had waned and the Germanic (here Saxon) settlers came into the Thames estuary, occupying an area around Wansunt which included the Thames coastal region and, south of this, the valleys of its tributary rivers. A few finds were recorded in the nineteenth century but these are poorly documented, and the Cray and Ravensbourne valleys are now largely under development. The best evidence in this area is from burials and cemeteries. Twenty-three cemeteries, burials or find-spots in all are known in the Cray and lower Darent valleys, with nine more to the east along the Thames and a further two to the west in Greenwich Park (Richardson 2005, Map 2). One of the earliest of these cemeteries is at Orpington, 7 km south-west of Wansunt at the head of the Cray valley and near the site of the villa estate there, a mixed-rite cemetery comparable to those in north Surrey such as Mitcham, and showing cultural links with the upper Thames valley and thus distinct from cemeteries in East Kent. There were 13 graves dating to 450-500, and the cemetery fell out of use by the end of the sixth century. A further site at South Darenth in the Darent valley, 7km south-east and again near the site of the large Roman villa, has an early grave dating to the end of the fifth century, and at Otford in the Darent valley a sixth-century cremation was found at a Romano-British site. At Northfleet, 13km north in the Thames coastal region, was a mixed-rite cemetery with indications of pre-Roman use and fifth-century pottery, here showing links to Anglian forms. After these early cemeteries fell from use, a later cemetery was begun at Polhill probably about 625-650, 14km south at the southern end of the Darent valley (Tyler 1992; Richardson 2005; Stoodley pers com). Thus cemetery evidence provides an early date for the settlement of the area, and artefacts also provide evidence for the provenance of the settlers.

As usual, settlement evidence from the early Anglo-Saxon period is limited. The burial evidence in the Darent valley suggests that it was well-populated, even though much of the material remains of habitation are no longer there; however in the Darenth Roman villa site a sixth- or seventh-century sunken-featured-building was excavated and possibly another at

Dartford some 4 km north-east (Tyler 1992, 79; Richardson 2005, 55). There is clear evidence of a sunken-featured-building dating to AD 450 – 500 within the Roman site at Keston some 13 km south-west (Philp 1991, 133) and it is this hut structure which points to the penetration of the settlers via the Ravensbourne, which rises on the hill above the site.

Close to Wansunt Road, in Joyden's Wood, there is a bank-and-ditch earthwork, the northern end of which is about 500 m south-east of Wansunt Road and on which at this point lies the parish boundary with Wilmington. The date of this earthwork is as yet unestablished, but it appears by the usual name for such earthworks, *fæstendīc*, in the bounds of a charter of AD 814 (S 175, probably authentic), a grant by Cœnwulf of Mercia to Archbishop Wulfred of land at Bexley, and may indicate a defence or territorial marker for Kent. The necessity for patrol may be indicated by a clearly-marked path behind the bank on the Kentish side (Hogg 1941, 20 – 1). Where the original Wansunt lay in relation to this boundary is, of course, unknown. If the barrow at Greenwich and the earthwork in Joyden's Wood are both boundary markers, then it may be that the territory between them was in dispute at some time between London and Kent, and may be an additional reason why the cemetery at Orpington fell out of use. In the twelfth century the territory of London stretched into Kent with liberty of hunting as far as the Cray (Stow1971, 93), but it is unclear just what the importance of this territorial extent was in administrative terms. The earthwork may represent a Kent/London boundary, but at the moment there is no dating evidence.

In early Saxon times Wansunt lay in an area of relatively dense settlement and activity, the new settlers apparently attracted by the territory cleared by earlier occupants and developed as good agricultural land by the Romano-British population. There is no evidence of continuous occupation, unless at Orpington, but it is noticeable that Roman sites were re-used by Saxons. The Romano-British and Saxon remains close by in Joyden's Wood demonstrate activity in both periods near to Wansunt.

Gazetteer of sites for Wansunt:

NGR	Source	Details
TQ321 806	OS173	Southwark bridge
TQ389 649	OS 162	West Wickham church, *Noviomagus*
TQ392 773	Richardson 2005 ii, 38	Greenwich Park, R temple, S barrow
TQ415 633	Richardson 2005 i, 55	Keston R & S site
TQ455 659	Philp 2002, 163 – 6	Orpington, Crofton villa
TQ467 675	" 60	Orpington Poverest, Fordcroft R & S site
TQ470 690	GLSMR 070663	Pilgrim's Hill R bldg
TQ500 710	OS 162	Joyden's Wood
TQ500 740	NMR_NATINV-410949	Hall Place R remains
TQ501 708	Tester & Caiger 1954, 167	Joyden's Wood RB set
TQ505 589	Richardson 2005 ii, 29	Polhill S cem
TQ505 735	OS 162	Wansunt Rd junction with A 2018
TQ515 745	OS 162	Watling St crosses Cray
TQ520 650	Scott 1993, 104	Lullingstone villa
TQ522 589	Richardson 2005, 60	Otford
TQ540 720	Scott 1993, 109 EHNMR 639128	Wilmington R bldg
TQ542 741	OS 162	Watling St crosses Darent
TQ546 746	Richardson 2005, 55 NMR_NATINV-411062	Dartford sfb

TQ550 680	Scott 1993, 105	Horton Kirby R villa
TQ562 675	Richardson 2005 ii, 43	Riseley S cem
TQ562 706	Scott 1993, 103	Darenth villa
TQ567 693	Richardson 2005 ii, 42	S Darenth S cem
TQ610 720	Rodwell 1980, 564	Springhead (*Vagniacae)*
TQ623 740	Richardson 2005 ii, 59	Northfleet S cem

Area 7 south-east Essex.

This area has one **funta* site, Tolleshunt.

Fig 38 The church of St Nicholas, Tolleshunt Major.

South of modern Colchester, on the left bank of the estuary of the River Blackwater, lie the three parishes of Tolleshunt Major, Tolleshunt d'Arcy and Tolleshunt Knights, possibly subdivisions of one larger earlier estate, as Domesday has ten entries for Tolleshunt, from which may be traced the modern names via later developments (Reaney 1935, 306 – 7; Domesday 988 – 1044 passim). It is at present impossible to say exactly where the name originated. The only spring is at the moated Wicks Manor Farm in the parish of Tolleshunt Major, and it is suggested that if **funta* refers to a spring, this may be it (Cole 1985, 7, 10), or it may refer to a stream or ditch as at Funthams (Cambridgeshire). Other farm or field names which may include the word spring are not dealt with in the older place-name volumes, and in an area so close to the river, the modern drainage pattern may not replicate that of fifteen centuries ago. Since there is no evidence for the original location of the **funta*, distances will be measured from the spring at Wicks Manor Farm, whose name is recorded in 1410 (Reaney 1935, 309) and which lies about 1km north of the church at Tolleshunt Major. It may be significant that some other **funta* sites are very near a Manor Farm, for example Boarhunt, Urchfont.

The site at present and its earliest name:

The area is flat agricultural countryside with small streams draining into the River Blackwater and its estuary, with the coast 4 or 5 km to the east of Tolleshunt d'Arcy parish boundary. Colchester lies some 15km to the north-east. The earliest recorded instance of the place-name is *Tollesfuntan,* c 1000, *Tolesfunte* 1068, while in Domesday it is *Toleshunta(n), Tollensum,* by which time the –f- has disappeared. The first element is from *Tol* (pers n) + **funta,* and is to be compared with Tollesbury, Tol's *burh*, a parish lying between Tolleshunt d'Arcy and the sea to the

east. The combination of pers n + **funta* occurs in other names, for example Havant (Hants) and Fovant (Wilts).

There is no evidence to suggest that Cheshunt Field, at Gosbeck's Farm archaeological park near Colchester, is a **funta* name, though it might appear to be. Its earliest recording is c1300, as Cheste(y)ne feld, from ME *chestein, chesten*, a chestnut tree (Reaney 1935, 399).

General Background:

The area was dominated by the proximity of Colchester, and it is worth considering the importance of the site in pre-Roman and early Roman times because of its influence in the area. In the LPRIA Colchester (*Camulodunum*) was an important *oppidum* and appears to have been the seat of the ruling dynasty of the Trinovantes, who may well have had more familiarity with the Latin language than a mere copying of coin legend (Williams 2007). An extremely wealthy aristocratic grave was excavated in 1924 in a cemetery at Lexden, west of Camulodunum, wherein were found examples of Roman luxury goods testifying not only to taste but also to availability through trade or by other means (Cunliffe 2005,155 – 9). It has been suggested that this could be the grave of Tasciovanus, who ruled c 25 – 10 BC and who issued elaborate coinage bearing his title of (*rignon*) high king (ibid 144). A period of instability following his death came to an end with the emergence of Cunobelinus as high king, claiming on his coinage to be the son of Tasciovanus (*Tasc Fil*) and whose authority, according to the coin evidence, extended south into Kent, thus giving him control over the Thames as well as the Essex rivers. Coinage evidence also puts the tribal boundary in the region of the Blackwater, some 6km south of Tolleshunt (Haselgrove 1987, 53, 56). Cunobelinus reigned for some thirty years, during which time his kingdom became extremely wealthy, with a rich élite and most probably based on Roman support (Cunliffe 2005, 146). A series of ditches and dykes, similar to those at Silchester and Chichester, constructed at this time around Colchester, demonstrates that the site was extensive and important before the Roman invasion, and already influenced for many years by Roman ideas. The earthworks were constructed in two phases, in 25BC and AD5, then continued in AD 43 (Cunliffe 2005, 161 – 3). That the site and settlement were perceived prior to AD43 as having urban status is demonstrated by coinage which bears images of the Roman curved staff or *lituus*, used in the urban inaugural ceremony to signify the sacred and ritual nature of urban status, which was a political definition in Roman terms (Creighton 2000, 204 – 213; Pitts and Perring 2006,192). It was not only the settlement site which was important: the site at Gosbeck's Farm, to the west, was an important tribal centre later taken over by the Romans, and it is notable that many places in the locality of Tolleshunt have evidence of settlement dating from prehistoric times (below).

Cunobelinus died around AD40. His sons were not pro-Roman and a period of instability in south-east Britain followed. The Roman impetus in AD43 was aimed at Camulodunum as the centre of power, and, as a non-maritime force, the Roman army needed a short sea crossing, so after landing in Kent crossed the Thames at its lowest crossing point in order to penetrate Essex to reach Camulodunum. A legionary fort was established, later converted to a veteran colony (Colonia Claudia Victricensis), destroyed in the Boudiccan revolt of AD60 - 1 after unrest in the town around the colony due to the colonists' annexation of tribal lands. The colony was rebuilt with the first city wall in Britain (Cunliffe 2005, 221; Black 2006; Pitts and

Perring 2006,192 – 3), and was home to high-status residents: here, as at Verulamium, is the earliest British evidence of buildings with wall-plaster, window-glass and roof tiles (Perring 2002,32). Although Londinium became the administrative centre, Camulodunum remained an important religious site, with the impressive temple of Claudius and many other Romano-British temples around the town; Gosbeck's Farm was developed as a ritual site comparable to other large rural sites in Gaul, with a theatre and a temple containing a fine statue of Mercury (Finch Smith 1987, 146 – 7; Crummy 2006) and the site at Sheepen north of the town was retained for industry and trading, again with temples (Brooks 2006, 10).

Roads were soon constructed to serve the area, that from Londinium (Margary 3a, 3b) via Chelmsford (Caesaromagus) connecting with the road from Braintree (Margary 32) to the west of Colchester, which then appears to have led to the south and east of the town, not to the fine west gate (the Balkerne gate), and so may have preceded the establishment of the colonia (Margary 1967, 248). Roads led from Colchester north into East Anglia, north-west to the Wash, west to Cambridge and south-west to Heybridge, passing east of Gosbeck's Farm, thus siting Colchester as a focal point in a radiating system (VCH Essex iii 1973, 27). The development and proximity of Colchester, its wealth, status and communications system had an influence on the economy of the region. It is suggested that such towns had a double community, the central colonia here with buildings such as the temple of Claudius, being populated by immigrants, with an indigenous surrounding enclave, Camulodunum, with tribal sites such as Gosbeck's and Sheepen. Even the immigrants needed fresh food from the locality to put in their imported ceramic dishes, thus stimulating local production (Pitts and Perring 2006, 205 – 9).

The Late Roman period:

Coin evidence shows that occupation continued in Colchester until the fifth century, though by the fourth century the suburbs were in almost total decline, the defences were strengthened and it is possible that by the mid-fourth century the town had shrunk dramatically (Crummy 1993, 41 – 3). At Sheepen there is evidence of activity until the first half of the fourth century, but Gosbeck's declined in importance well before this, and the western Balkerne gate was blocked at about AD300. The Butts Hill cemetery continued in use until AD367 (Crummy 1980). The town's location near the east coast made it vulnerable to piracy from the North Sea, and Saxon Shore forts were constructed as early as AD270 – 280 at Bradwell-on-sea (*Othona*) on the south side of the Blackwater estuary near the sea, and at Walton Castle on the coast east of Colchester (Maxfield 1989, 41). At Kelvedon (*Canonium*) 7.5km north of Tolleshunt and 15km south-west of Colchester a settlement site, occupied prior to AD43, continued in use until the mid-fourth century, with workshops and residential buildings, and earthwork defences possibly of late second- or early third-century date (Finch Smith 1987, 144 – 5).

In the area around Tolleshunt evidence of Romano-British occupation is sporadic, with dating usually uncertain. However, where the ground is higher, at Rivenhall, some 7km north-west, on a site occupied from prehistoric times, a large villa of winged-corridor design was constructed in the early second century. It was lavishly decorated and surrounded by other buildings, but after a fire in the early third century the villa was remodelled and alterations continued until the end of the Roman period, including a drier installed in a corridor, even at a time when piracy threatened the east coast. A very large aisled barn was later taken over by people

using handmade Anglo-Saxon pottery and fifth-century glass, and in the fifth or sixth century a post-built hall was erected, built in the native style, about 40m to the east and sharing a wall with the large Roman building (Morris 1979, 101; Rodwell and Rodwell 1986, xi; Scott 1993, 65). However, there is debate as to whether this site demonstrates any sort of sub-Roman – Saxon continuity, as there are difficulties in dating, for example the pottery finds, but it seems to offer a good case for continuity.

Closer to Tolleshunt, a little inland from the flat land of the Blackwater estuary, there are indications of villa-type buildings: at Great Braxted, 5.5km north-west, red tesserae and building material, with two rubbish pits and pottery, are dated to second century to late Roman times, and at Heybridge 6km to the south-west a multiperiod site with evidence of occupation from Bronze Age to early Saxon times appears to have been a LPRIA focal centre for social and ritual purposes, a meeting place with a temple but with little maritime or riverine trading significance. Iron Age Catuvellaunian, Trinovantian and Cantian coins were found here, though without further evidence it is impossible to give a date for this coinage, and though these three tribal areas were linked politically under Cunobelinus, tribal allegiances may have been sustained (above). The temple may lie at a boundary, and the Blackwater seems to have been a tribal boundary indicator, and there are remains of a feast in a pit. Although there are traces of an orthogonal layout, Heybridge was probably more a market village than a small town, and though connected to Colchester by road, would have had only a secondary importance, and may have had a *mutatio.* The settlement had no obvious political status or function, and like the small towns in the area declined during the fourth century (Drury and Wickenden 1982; Atkinson and Preston 1998). Urns, coins and other Roman artefacts have been found here, with a Roman cremation site nearby (NMR records; Pitts and Perring 2006,207 - 8). It may be that the town was connected with the salt industry along the Blackwater.

Closer to the spring at Wicks Manor Farm, 2km to the east at Hill Farm, Tolleshunt d'Arcy, there is a multiperiod site with evidence of settlement dating from prehistory to medieval times, with a Romano-British farmstead, pottery kiln, bricks and two sandstone grain rubbers, with possible evidence of a early Anglo-Saxon occupation (below). At Tolleshunt Knights, 3km north-east, Roman tiles were found, and 4km to the north-east it is said that in 1750 Roman pavements were dug up, while at Tollesbury, the neighbouring parish to the east, signs of a villa-type building have been noted but no details are forthcoming (Scott 1993,66; NMR records). Thus there is no substantial evidence for any type of estate economy in the area around Tolleshunt, but cropmarks are noted in many places, for example at Chigborough Farm 4.5km to the south, where it is believed occupation continued into the third century. A possible ritual well was found at Hill Farm, and an important religious and ritual site dating from the Iron Age at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, some 7km north-west, continued in use through the Roman period, a new temple being constructed in the early fourth century, to be replaced by a possible baptismal font, after which the site continued as a pagan shrine into the fifth century (Turner 1999, xii).

There is some evidence of industry: a Roman quarry was found at Slough House Farm 4km to the south-west, at a site dating from Neolithic to early medieval times, and in the area Roman pottery kilns and tile kilns are found. However the main local industry in Roman times appears to have been salt production at many sites along the shores of the Blackwater, some 3 or 4km to the

south. These are notoriously difficult to date, as it is possible that salt-producing techniques changed through the later Roman period, and the early briquetage evidence remains but the later process leaves no trace in the archaeological record (Fincham 2004, 132 – 3).

Unfortunately, dating evidence is very difficult to find for this particular area around Tolleshunt, south of Colchester. It appears, however, that the early prosperity and glory enjoyed locally gave way to a gradual decline as political stability waned in the face of piracy from the sea to the east and difficulties within the Western Roman Empire itself. Elsewhere in the county there is evidence of prosperity, or at least survival, into the fifth century, for example at Rivenhall and at Ivy Chimneys (above), at Chelmsford, Feering cemetery and further south at Prittlewell (Drury and Rodwell 1980,71).

The Early Saxon period:

The buildings at Rivenhall have already been referred to (above), and an early presence is recorded at other small sites in the modern county. The earliest known Anglo-Saxon incursus into Essex was along the north shore of the Thames. The Colchester area appears not to have been targeted. In Colchester itself the evidence of any Saxon presence prior to the ninth century is just two sunken huts, some 200 potsherds and some 60 other artefacts mainly from cemeteries. The huts were constructed within the colonia, one being erected inside a derelict house against the outside wall, its floor dug through the stokehole of the hypocaust system where roof tiles and debris had fallen, and was a sunken hut used as a weaving shed, the other was of a different type, set in a Roman tessellated pavement (Crummy 1981,1 – 2; Tyler 1996, 108). The pottery and military equipment of both late Roman and early Saxon date suggest that there was no overlap of the two cultures, but rather that Roman Colchester came to an end by the mid-fifth century, prior to any Saxon advent. Roman cemeteries were used by Saxons, for example, the Mersea Road cemetery south of the town shows evidence of use in Roman times and again in the fifth century, and on into the late seventh century. Stray finds of brooches, beads, pottery and iron weapons indicate some occupation in the town into the eighth century (Meaney 1964, 86; Crummy 1981, 23). Finds of spears, such as Swanton types C1, early fifth century, and D1, have been found, though not in assemblages (Stoodley pers com).

A significant early Anglo-Saxon settlement with five sunken-featured buildings was excavated at Heybridge, within the Romano-British settlement, where an early date is suggested by ceramic forms and decoration comparable to those of finds at Feddersen Wierde and Wijster, and which would probably have reached England during the first half of the fifth century. The Anglo-Saxon presence was of short duration, perhaps only 25 – 30 years, indicating that the new people were not farmers or settlers, but more probably labourers, artisans or soldiers with their families. There are also some Saxon burials in the Romano-British cemetery at nearby Barn Field, where Roman inhumation burials with lead and stone coffins were found with Saxon urns, one of which was a small Saxon shoulderboss urn dated by Myres to cAD500. Two other urns, probably pagan Saxon, are now lost (Drury and Wickenden 1982; Atkinson and Preston 1998; NMR). An inhumation cemetery at Feering (Kelvedon) some 8km to the north of Tolleshunt spring was excavated in 1899, where the finds may be dated to the sixth or early seventh century and a stone coffin which could be of late Roman

date (Meaney 1964, 86; Stoodley pers com) but further away, some 20 km to the north, a large mixed-rite cemetery at Springfield Lyons, Chelmsford, is dated to the late fifth and sixth centuries (Tyler 1996, 111). Early Anglo-Saxon evidence from the Tolleshunt locality is piecemeal, though the multiperiod site at Hill Farm, Tolleshunt d'Arcy, 2km to the east, has evidence of an early medieval sunken-featured building inserted above Romano-British wells (Adkins 1984). At Slough House Farm 4km south there is evidence of a metal-working pit, with nearby a rare early Anglo-Saxon well, dated variously to early sixth- to early seventh-century, and at nearby Rook Hall Farm a multiperiod settlement has evidence of early medieval metal-working and smithing: these sites testify to a certain level of industrial activity in the area during the early Anglo-Saxon period (Adkins 1989; Tyler 1996, 115). The most convincing evidence is from the multiperiod site at Heybridge, and an early Saxon presence is shown at Rivenhall and at Ivy Chimneys (above).

It appears that the area around the Tolleshunt parishes was influenced by the existence of the LPRIA and Roman site at Colchester. There is evidence of settlement in the region dating from prehistoric times, and a feature of the area seems to be the numerous sites showing multiperiod occupancy, whether this be continuous or not, dating even into early Saxon times. It may be that sub-Roman occupation is not identifiable and contact between indigene and incomer can be neither proven nor disproven, but the evidence is fairly strong. The terrain is not of the type where a villa economy is often found, and indeed the villas are to the north where the countryside is more varied, but cropmarks show agricultural activity, though it is difficult to date these with accuracy. It is notable that the settlement centre at Heybridge provides evidence that the development of Roman Colchester led to the decline of trade and activity here. Colchester was prestigious and well-served by roads, taking precedence over the area to its south around Tolleshunt, It may be that this land lay under the control of Colchester. It is also important to note that the LPRIA tribal boundary is believed to have lain quite close, to the south, probably along the Blackwater or the Crouch.

The place-name Tolleshunt itself, and other evidence quoted, suggests that there may have been some contact at least between Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon people.

Gazetteer

TL736 082	NMRMIC-3343	Springfield Lyons cem
TL811 136	NMR-NATINV-381308	Ivy Chimneys ritual site
TL828 178	Scott 1993, 65	Rivenhall villa
TL849 148	NMR-NATINV-381286	Gt Braxted building
TL850 170	Finch Smith 1987, 146	Kelvedon, *Canonium*
TL850 082	NMR-NATINV-380695	Heybridge multiperiod site
TL870 090	EHNMR 639040	Rook Hall Farm
TL873 091	C14-OXA-2932-2	Slough House Farm, AS metal.
TL868 192	Meaney 1964, 86	Feering AS cem.
TL880 081	NMR-NATINV-380742	Chigboro'Farm cropmarks
TL898 122	OS 183	Wicks Manor Farm, Tolleshunt
TL920 115	EHNMR 638309	Hill Farm, Tolleshunt d'Arcy
TL929 149	Scott 1993, 66 Todd 1978	Tolleshunt Knights, tess. floor
TL956 104	Scott 1993, 66 Todd 1978	Tollesbury villa
TL960 220	Finch Smith 1987, 146	Cheshunt Field, Gosbeck's Fm.
TL975 249	NMR-NATINV-384142	Lexden IA & R cem.
TL986 253	NMRMIC-2410	Sheepen
TL997 250	Meaney 1964, 86	Colchester AS cem.

Area 8 North-west Essex.

This area has a single **funta* site, Bonhunt.

Fig 39 St Helen's Chapel, Bonhunt Farm.

The site at present and its earliest name:

Wicken Bonhunt, (Essex), lies about a kilometre to the west of the M11, which here runs north to south, and the village sits either side of the B1038 which runs east from Buntingford, Herts to Newport, Essex, through a pleasant valley through which runs the stream Wicken Water, flowing east to join the river Cam. The village is some 7km east of the point where the three counties of Essex, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire meet at NGR TL422 338, and it is probable that the modern village is Wicken, and Bonhunt is actually almost a kilometre to the east just near the M11, at the site of the twelfth-century St Helen's chapel and the buildings of Bonhunt Farm (Fig 39). There are springs in the area, one just under the brow of the hill to the south of the B1038 in Wicken, and on the same contour south of St Helen's chapel, are more, known as Bonhunt Springs. In Mesolithic times the valley probably contained a lake (Wade 1980, 96). Since the chapel is on the old site of Bonhunt, and it is likely that this was the original **funta*, distances are for present purposes measured from here. The place-name has caused some difficulties of interpretation (Reaney 1935, 544). In 1086 *wicam* and *banhunta* are mentioned, and the two names were first combined in the thirteenth century as Wykes Bonhunte, AD 1237-8. *wicam* (1086) is explained as OE dat. pl. (for locative) *wīcum* from *wīc* dairy farm, -um often becoming –en in the south-east Midlands and adjoining areas (Ekwall1960, 516). A meaning "at the dwellings" is also later suggested (Watts 2004, 677). The obvious derivation from the OE appellative *wīcham* is not suggested by the authorities (Gelling 1967, 1988), although this would be helpful as a **funta* is often in the vicinity of a *wīcham.* The derivation of both elements of Bonhunt is open to discussion, but it is now accepted as a **funta* site, and a full examination of

the possibilities, and of previous suggestions made by place-name experts, is set out in Appendix 2.

General Background:

The site lies in an area of fertile, well-watered terrain which would have been not only attractive but also accessible to early settlers. At the time of the Roman Conquest it lay in the territory of the Trinovantes, which was at that time joined politically with that of the Catuvellauni, and together their territory extended over modern Essex and Hertfordshire, with parts of Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire and Suffolk. Prior to AD40 Cunobelinus was ruler of the Trinovantes, based at Camulodunum, and coins bearing his name are found widely in the eastern area, concentrated especially in Essex, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire (Cunliffe 2005, 159 – 60). Coins of Cunobelinus have been found near Bonhunt, a gold quarter stater 5km east near Debden and a bronze coin 5km north-east at Audley End (NMR). Bonhunt is some 47km north-west of Colchester, but closer to Great Chesterford, where there was an Iron Age settlement whose exact nature in the LPRIA is so far undetermined, but was important as it is situated in a narrowing of the valley of the Cam and thus able to control traffic along the river and Icknield Way. Many sites in the vicinity of Bonhunt show evidence of occupation in the Iron Age and into the Roman period (NMR), and at Bonhunt itself, at Bonhunt Farm prior to the construction of the M11, rescue excavation found evidence of Mesolithic flint workings, Neolithic flint, pottery and hearths, urns from Bronze or early Iron Age, one of which contained cremated material, and two ditches and a pit dating to Roman times (NMR; SEAX). In the area around Bonhunt, further examples of Iron Age sites which continued into the Roman period are at Elmdon, 5.5km north-west, where prehistoric pottery was found near a Roman barrow and settlement, and at Clavering, 4km south-west, where Iron Age and Romano-British pottery was found at a settlement site, together with an inhumation in a stone coffin, believed to be Christian, probably of late Roman date. Also sites have been found at Littlebury, 4km to the north, where Iron Age and Roman pottery was found, with coins (no date given) and a silver cup, and at Wendens Ambo, 3km north, Iron Age roundhouses and enclosures were found on a site where a Roman corridor villa was built in the first century, with bath-house, driers and barn, and later remodelled to add a hypocaust, painted wall-plaster and a water supply. Among these sites where Iron Age occupation continued into the later period, there are Romano- British sites where no pre-Roman evidence has been found, for example at Audley End House, 4.5km north, where Roman coins, pottery and a possible kiln were found, and at Arkesden, 5km west, where a Roman settlement, with perhaps a villa, was indicated by finds of building stone, tiles and pottery including samian ware, tesserae and roofing tiles, a hypocaust, a terracotta figurine and a grave group of second century or later date. At Newport, 2km south, evidence of a Roman field-system was found with pottery and a quern, and at Quendon, 3km south, Romano-British pottery, glass, twelve coins (unspecified), a fibula, cremations and building material were discovered. A Roman cemetery was found at Barnwell some 6km north-west of Bonhunt, where finds included an elaborately cut goblet of pure white glass and a jug with a conical body,

probably from an inhumation as the finds were intact, and perhaps dating to the fourth century. These are some examples of the many finds from this era listed in NMR, indicating no small degree of population, though much of the material was found before modern methods of recording were used, which sometimes renders dating problematic.

After the Claudian invasion roads were soon constructed in the area. The road Margary 300 runs 10km east of Bonhunt, from Great Dunmow, Chelmsford and Colchester, to Great Chesterford; the road 21b passes 7km west of Bonhunt, from Braughing to Great Chesterford, then continuing along the route of Icknield Way to Worsted Lodge where it crosses the road 24 from Colchester to Cambridge, and then continues to East Anglia. The Roman settlement at Great Chesterford lies astride the road overlooking the crossing point of the Cam, and where a fort, possibly a vexillation fort, developed during the first century, to be slighted at the end of that century or at the beginning of the next. A temple was constructed a kilometre to the east, which pottery and coin evidence dates to the mid-first century, but nothing has yet been discovered to suggest that the site had been in use before then. During the second and third centuries the unfortified town around the fort flourished, covering some 20 ha.

The Late Roman Period:

Activity in the area continued through the Roman period, though nothing of a late date has yet been found at Bonhunt. The villa at Wendens Ambo continued in use until the late fourth century (Robertson 1976, 4.07), and a site at Henham 6km south, dated to the third or fourth century, has evidence of timber-framed building with roof tiles, a quern, pottery and iron-working débris such as nails and iron objects (NMR). Important evidence comes from Great Chesterford where occupation continued: a winged-corridor masonry building inside the town dates to the late third or early fourth century, and this and the only other masonry building lie on the main road through the town, and may have been for local government business. No other buildings within the town were of masonry, or had roof tiles, but appear to have been made of timber with thatched roofs, though to the west of the town a villa-type building had a hypocaust, tesserae and coins of the first to fourth centuries (Scott 1993, 61). At the beginning of the fourth century the town was fortified with well-constructed walls, at the same date as the construction of the masonry buildings, and new and continuing cemeteries show that there was a considerable population. At this time the town was possibly of no little importance, though the road through it was not a main route and no evidence, apart from the walls, has been found of urban status , such as an orthogonal street plan or obvious civic buildings, or of a tax-collecting function as there is no evidence of stores or granaries. In the final Roman period there is no evidence of any general destruction but of contraction (Alexander 1975, 103 – 9). This is the only site in Essex, apart from Colchester, which is certainly known to have been walled. In the nineteenth century cemeteries were found along the roads to the north and south-west and to the west, the first and second beginning as cremation cemeteries, but all with later inhumations. In the northern cemetery barrows were constructed, and it is suggested that they were for a wealthy merchant population (Evison 1994, 42). For most of its

active life the western cemetery post-dates the fourth-century construction of the walls, with 18 adult burials and coins dating through the first three quarters of the fourth century, and in a nearby field 15 infant burials orientated west-east. The number of infant and neonate burials in an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery is unusual, and may indicate a Christian adherence. These burials overlay earlier occupation débris, indicating a contraction of the town on the west side, and survival into the fifth century is suggested (Burnham and Wacher 1990). It is possible that a sub-Roman population continued until the arrival of Germanic people in the mid-late fifth century.

The Romano-British temple to the east of the town continued in use throughout the Roman period. An AE4 of Arcadius, 388 – 408, and a coin of Honorius, 393 – 423, were found. The temple was in a precinct where bone evidence indicates that a spring and autumn stock cull took place here. After dilapidation in the second century, repair and reconstruction took place in the late third, and the site possibly continued into the fifth. During the late third and fourth centuries a change of activity is shown by ovens or kilns, and many more coins of this time were found, but whether this indicates a change to commercial activity, or an increase in votive deposits, is unclear. Near the temple (site B) there was more fourth-century pottery, including samian from central Gaul (Miller 1996). The temple site was obviously important for the life of the town for the entire Roman period.

The early Saxon period:

The northern cemetery at Great Chesterford was hastily excavated further in advance of further gravel extraction in the 1950's, but still then only partially (Evison 1994), and a total of 160 inhumations and 33 cremations are known. The six Roman barrows, a line of five and another one, had been re-used by the Saxons throughout the period of the cemetery's use. Some finds in the Saxon cemetery may be dated to the fifth century by continental parallels, for example pedestal pots, and brooch types in particular reveal a sequence of dates from c450 to c600, though the excavator admits that the dating of individual graves is sketchy and deductive. What may be said, however, is that the re-use of the tumuli took place during the entire period, and that cremation, W-E and S-N orientation of inhumation continued until c550, when S-N predominated (ibid 46). The exacavator suggests that findless graves may indicate a sub-Roman population, though this is an idea which can be explained by other social and economic factors (Stoodley pers com), and that horse graves and the brooch types show affinities with the Cambridge group, some 15km to the north (ibid 50). There were imported wares from West Kent, France and Germany. The most powerful family was probably of Anglian culture, but there is no gold, little silver and most metal finds are of bronze (ibid 51). These finds distinguish this area from the Colchester area. Other cemeteries locally do not show such an early date; at Saffron Walden there are seventh-century inhumations, and the cemetery at Wendens Ambo may date to the late fifth or sixth century, possibly centred around a barrow but with too many artefacts, such as spearheads, to derive from a single grave, and with no jewellery (Meaney 1964).

At Bonhunt itself no trace of an early Anglo-Saxon presence has been detected, but later finds are important for the discussion of the site. The

excavation of 1970-1973 revealed considerable evidence of mid-Saxon presence in the area surrounding St Helen's chapel (Wade 1980), though only a small part, perhaps a half or even a third, of the whole site has been investigated, so conclusions are, as is often the case, based on partial evidence. The earliest evidence found so far is of the sixth to seventh centuries, with more than one phase of occupation shown. There was a rectangular yard with structures around, a hearth, metal objects and weaving artefacts, pottery of various types including shell-, grass-, grit- and sand-tempered ware, a great deal of Ipswich ware which is surprising given the distance from Ipswich, and imported Frankish ware which is again surprising given that East Anglia and Ipswich dealt mainly with the Rhineland. The Ipswich ware is dated to the mid-seventh century. There were two main phases of activity, and the 28 structures were of three construction types, used as workshops, byres and barns and a granary or hayloft, but no domestic structures. A notable find was the large and unusual assortment of animal bones with few butchery marks, which is discussed fully in the note following this section. (Further archaeological excavation is devoutly to be hoped for in this promising area.)

The development of the site can be traced further in time, and this again is important for the understanding of Bonhunt as a **funta*. In Domesday Bonhunt is described as a pre-Conquest manor of two hides, which had TRE four bordars and a plough in demesne, and in 1086 there were still four bordars who now had an additional half a plough. There were 10 acres of meadow. TRE there was a cow and a pig, but in 1086 30 sheep, 2 cattle and a horse are listed, and the value of the holding had escalated from 40s to 55s. This was obviously an estate worth holding, probably a demesne farm. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a re-organisation on the site and an aisled hall was built, plus the still-extant St Helen's chapel, which appears to be a manorial chapel on the site of an earlier building and which is surrounded by a cemetery. In 1237 Bonhunt and Wicken were amalgamated for purposes of administration, with Bonhunt Farm the eastern portion. In the nineteenth century the farm had 211 acres, still with 10 acres of meadow. The two hides in 1086 may have totalled about 240 acres, so it may be that Bonhunt Farm was the descendant of the mid-Saxon, then Domesday manor, in topographical and landholding terms (Domesday, 1040; Wade 1980, 102).

Gazetteer:

NGR	Source	Details
TL456 347	NMR_NATINV-370618	Elmdon, IA, R site
TL450 585	OS 209	Cambridge
TL460 380	NMR_NATINV-371250	Barnwell, R cemetery
TL464 354	NMR_NATINV-370710	Arkesden, R settlement
TL470 308	NMR_NATINV-370692	Clavering, inhumation
TL501 435	Evison 1994	Gt Chesterford AS cem
TL502 431	OS 209	Gt Chesterford R fort
TL508 360	NMR_NATINV-373695	Wendens Ambo, R villa
TL509 298	NMR_NATINV-373370	Quendon, R site
TL511 335	NMR_NATINV-373872	Bonhunt Farm
TL514 436	Miller 1996	Gt Chesterford R temple
TL515 389	NMR_NATINV-37378 7	Littlebury IA, R site
TL519 329	NMRMIC-5567	Newport R site
TL525 381	NMR_NATINV-373671	Audley End R site
TL528 519	OS 209	Worsted Lodge crossroads
TL530 282	NMR_NATINV-373417 M11 4.01	Henham, R site
TL539 382	NMR_NATINV-373735	Saffron Walden AS cem

Area 9 West Cambridgeshire/Peterborough.

This area has a single **funta* site, Funthams.

The site at present and its earliest name:

At first sight this is a most unpromising area in which to seek a **funta*. Funthams lies where the slightly higher ground to the west of Peterborough meets the Fens to the east. The modern A605 runs west-east from Peterborough to Whittlesey, with flat agricultural land to the south of the road while to the north the land has been managed and excavated for sewage works and brickworks, with some disused pits full of water. The junction of the south end of Funthams Lane with the A605, between Peterborough and Whittlesey, appears inaccessible, though the lane is shown on the map as running for 1.5km north from the road to the present course of the Nene, but even if passage along it were possible, any sign of a spring must have been obliterated by the continuous management of the area during the past centuries (Fig 43). Springs are shown on the map to the west, for example on the 20m contour at 11km, slightly higher than Funthams, and it is known that the water table has altered over time, due to natural causes as much as to human intervention (Mackreth 1978, 210; Hall 1987). Funthams Dyke, an artificial watercourse, is shown about a hundred metres to the west of the northern end of Funthams Lane. It has been suggested that the term **funta* may refer to a well or a ditch as well as to a spring (Cole 1985,8, 10, 16). The lane is 1km east of the present county boundary of Cambridgeshire with Northamptonshire, and to the east of Funthams lies the modern town of Whittlesey, situated on one of the two gravel islands which have built up as the Nene leaves the higher ground and enters the Fenland (Hall 1987, 55 - 56) (Fig 41). Since there is no fixed point which may be called Funthams, distances are measured from the middle of Funthams Lane where there is evidence of a Roman inhumation site (below).

The name Funthams is first recorded in the thirteenth century as *Funtune*, possibly deriving from **funta + tun* (Reaney1943, 260), and in 1423 as *Funtumwelle*. It is not given in Ekwall 1960, nor in Watts 2004, but included as a **funta* name in Gelling and Cole 2000 (p18). The form *Funtumwelle* is comparable to Bedford Well, Sussex, and indicates the presence of a spring by the use of the term *welle.* The form *Funtum-* could indicate a dative plural used as a locative. Comparisons may also be made with Funton Creek, Kent, which is not considered as a **funta* name (Cullen pers com) and with Funtington, W Sussex, where there is an intrusive *–ing-* (q v). On balance, Funthams appears to be a **funta* name.

General background:

Occupation is known in the area from prehistoric times. Flag Fen lies 2.5km north-north-west of Funthams, where the Bronze Age causeway and platform were constructed between 1350 and 900 BC, a huge site believed by the excavators on present evidence to be of ritual significance (www.flagfen.org/, 06.10.08), and there are other prehistoric sites further to the north-east (NMR). In the LPRIA Funthams would have lain near the north-east boundary of the eastern coin series (Kimes et al 1982, 123). The Nene appears to have been a significant tribal boundary, for the territory of the Corieltauvi lay to the north and west of the river in modern Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, and that of the Iceni to the east and south-east,

with the lands of the Catuvellauni to the south. Funthams was therefore at the meeting of the three (Cunliffe 2005, 194, 198). There is evidence of pre-Roman occupation on many of the sites excavated near modern Peterborough and Whittlesey, an

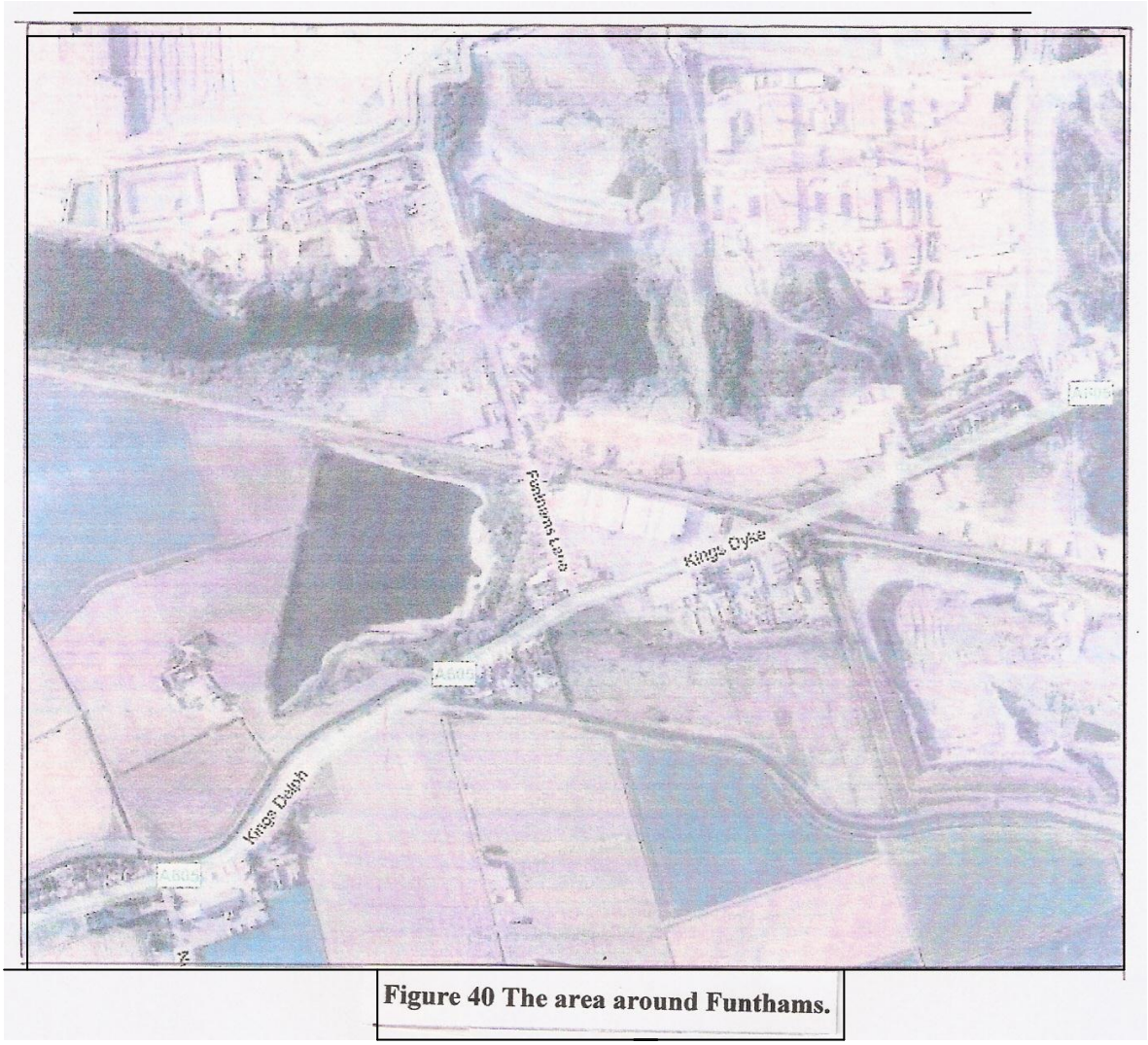


Figure 40 The area around Funthams.

example being at Fengate on the east of Peterborough 3km west of Funthams, where a Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age site underlay a Romano-British settlement.

Evidence of such settlement duration is also shown at sites such as Lynch Farm and Orton Hall Farm (below).

In AD43 the Roman forces arrived from the south via Ermine Street, crossing the Nene 12km to the west of Funthams. A small fort was constructed just south of the crossing and the town of Durobrivæ grew around and over the fort, and a vexillation fort was established at Longthorpe on the north bank of the Nene. By AD 65 the garrison here was moved on north and the Longthorpe base became a works depôt and practice ground, later taken over by civilian industrial works. Durobrivæ grew in importance through the Roman period, with workshops and kilns within the urban area and along the roads to north at Normangate Field, south and south-west. The pottery industry grew and spread as far east as Stanground, and Nene Valley ware is found on many sites through the country: colour-coated Castor ware was in great demand, believed to have been started here by potters from the Rhineland. Other local industries included leather-working, agricultural processing and especially iron-working, using iron from the Rockingham Forest to the west (Bellamy et al 2000). Durobrivæ was a *vicus* and so had some administrative standing, with probably a *mansio* in the town. It occupied a walled area of some 18ha, with at least 60ha. of commercial and industrial suburbs (Burnham and Wacher 1990; Wild 1974; Wild 1978; Fincham 2004). Excavations of Roman remains were begun in the early nineteenth century by the antiquarian Edmund Artis, in Durobrivæ and in present-day Castor, and though little exists textually, his records are valuable. The walled area cannot be excavated further, and its street plan is known from aerial photography. To the east, north and south no urban area appears in the fenland country, but there are well-defined and important routes: Ermine Street (Margary 26) was the main military route from London to the north, passing through Durobrivae, and the Fen Causeway (Margary 25) runs from Upton, 4km north of Durobrivæ on Ermine Street, to the east through Peterborough, passing just north of Funthams on its way to Downham Market. A network of minor roads on the north bank of the Nene indicates the importance of the industrial activity in the area, and the river also provided a good transport route. To the east and north-east, in the fen country, a thriving salt production was established during Roman times, but due to natural causes and to population decline, by the end of the fourth century this production had diminished (Fincham 2004). Rural sites from the Roman period proliferate, both in the area to the west of Funthams, around Durobrivæ, and to the east on the gravel islands, though this last evidence has not been fully tabulated or written up, appearing more as finds and agricultural traces (Hall 1987, 57 – 59). To the west, many settlement sites are known, some dating from prehistoric times and some under the built-up area of modern Peterborough, the following examples chosen from NMR. At Westwood, 7km north-west of Funthams, remains of a Romano-British settlement and farm were found with skeletons, loomweights, animal bones, coins (unspecified) and building materials dating to the first to fourth centuries, a possible building site nearby and evidence of

Bronze Age and Iron Age presence. A further site was found under Peterborough, 6km west, with animal and human bones, coins (unspecified) and what appears to be kiln furniture. A Roman inhumation cemetery with horseshoes was found nearby and a settlement site was found near the cathedral, 5km north-west with coins (unspecified), pottery, tiles and sculpture (no details). At Stanground, 4km north-west, were more coins, pottery, tiles and possibly a kiln site, and on the riverside nearby a road with coins, a kiln and a wharf marked a site dated to the first to fourth centuries. Larger buildings and villa estates appear on the western edge of modern Peterborough, on either side of the Nene on the favourable terrain of the river terraces which supported a varied agriculture and

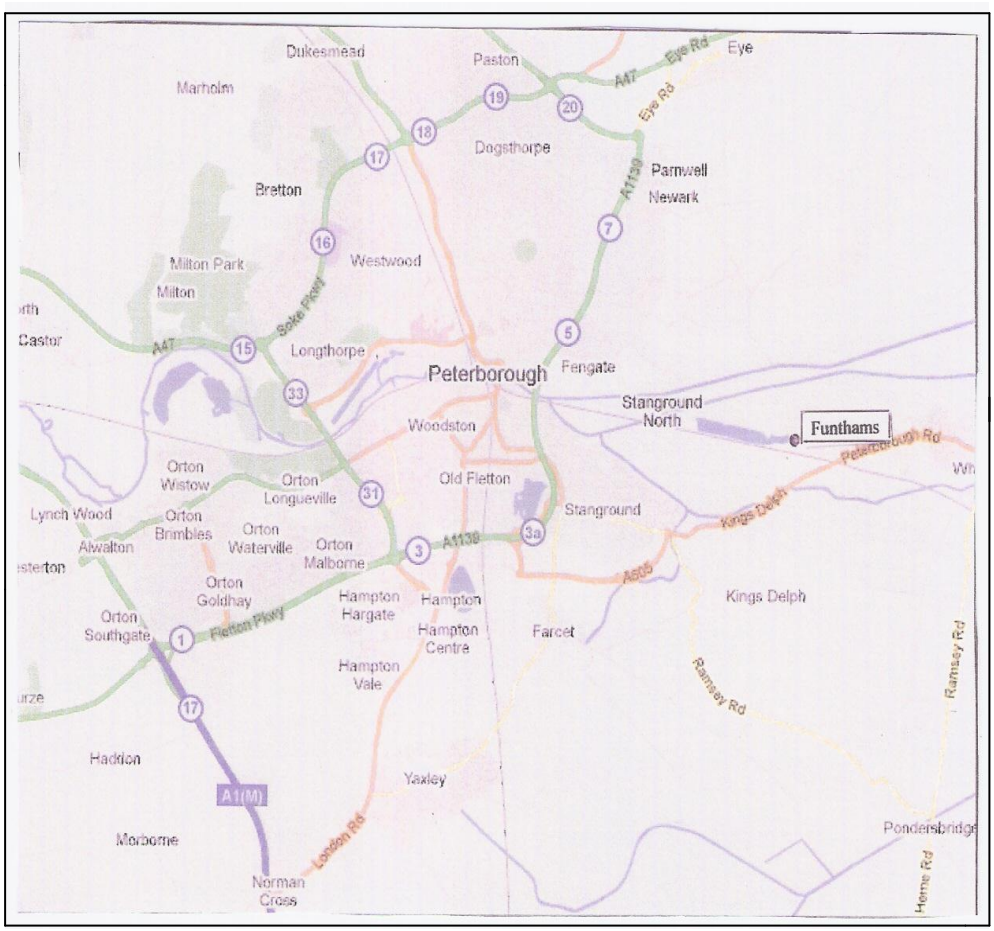


Figure 41 the position of Funthams.

husbandry. The soil here is fertile and a mixed farming economy was possible, with the estates engaging also in pottery production, using local clay, and iron working (Fincham 2004, 102 – 121). The road system and the river provided a transport network not only for raw materials and finished products, pottery, iron, foodstuffs and salt, but also access to markets of which not the least important was far to the north to the garrisons on Hadrian's Wall, where Nene Valley ware has been excavated (Fincham 2004,104). Important farm sites have been excavated at Orton Hall Farm, Orton Longueville, 7km west, and at Lynch Farm, Orton Waterville,10km west in a meander of the Nene. At Orton Hall Farm a large Roman farmstead overlay a site with evidence of a lithic working site and gullies dating to the Neolithic and Bronze Age. Occupation lasted from the early Roman time and in the second century a substantial wooden building was erected but later demolished, probably in the third century when a more substantial house was built around a courtyard open to the east, with oven, drier and furnace, and in the courtyard a well, pits, ditches and barns. Millstones of 90cm diameter were found. There was no evidence of a bathhouse or hypocaust, so the site appears to have been dedicated to work with little luxury (NMR; Mackreth 1978; Scott 1993, 40). At Lynch Farm the site of another farmstead, across the river from the fort at Longthorpe, revealed a previous deposit of Iron Age pottery, the Roman site being occupied in the third to mid-fourth century. Little evidence of the farm's activity was revealed as there was limited time available and more attention was given to the adjoining cemetery where excavation appeared to show that at the settlement lived a family who shared a certain genetic abnormality of the end of the ulna, *olecranon foramen.* No further excavation is planned as this is a preserved area (Jones 1975), but previous excavation gave evidence of a fishpond and supposed temple, with the site probably devoted to animal husbandry rather than crops (Wild 1974, 153).

At Durobrivæ there is evidence of prestigious houses both inside and outside the defences. Some houses within the town had mosaics, hypocausts and frescoed walls, indicating that wealthy folk lived here, perhaps with land outside town. A number of opulent villas were built on the western side of Durobrivæ, and at Castor, under the modern village, a large complex was excavated by Edmund Artis, possibly an official residence, and there were also wealthy houses at Ailsworth and Mill Hill nearer the river (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 87).

To the south-west of Funthams, away from Peterborough, second- to fourth-century pottery and kilns were found 7km away at Yaxley, and at Farcet, 5km south-west, first- to fourth-century pottery and a burial. Building stone and flue tiles, with first- to third-century pottery, marked a site at Horsey 1.5km away, and at Fields End Bridge, 1km away, a Roman settlement site was excavated with second- to fourth-century pottery and coins, a Roman sword and Bronze Age weapons. To the east of Funthams the river valley becomes wider and the soil here is clay with gravel islands. There is still evidence of Roman settlement, but of a less dense nature. At Whittlesey Fenland, 500m away on the Fenland Causeway, a Roman settlement site was excavated, a farmstead with cropmarks, paddocks and ditches, pits and postholes, together with Iron Age ditches and pits. In the King's Dyke area 1km east a first- to fourth-century settlement with a burial and pottery showed three different drainage systems, with pits and ditches of third and fourth century date according to coins and pottery. South of Whittlesey, 4km east of Funthams, finds of Roman pottery and a vessel may indicate a settlement. At Funthams itself, at the point here chosen as the **funta* site, excavation in 1962 revealed an Iron Age pit,

eight second-century burials, third- and fourth-century pottery inside a wicker-lined pot, two soles of leather sandals and a possible coin of Trajan. It is unclear why these were all together. All the burials were male, between 20 and 40, most mutilated prior to burial. The preservation of leather is unusual and its deposition dates to the second century. The form of mutilation is not specified, but decapitation does not usually indicate punishment or execution and was usually just a part of the burial rite at this time, in fact seen as usual when accompanied by footwear and pottery and in a rural location (Philpott 1991, 78 – 81 and passim). If this were a Saxon site, the fact that all were male would point to this being an execution site, often at a boundary.

The Late Roman Period

Durobrivæ continued to thrive into the fourth century, and may have become a *civitas* capital.Its defences were strengthened in AD370, and even though it appears to have suffered the general contraction of most Roman urban areas at this time, a hoard of gold coins dating to AD330 – 350, and the Water Newton treasure of 28 silver cups, bowls and other items, many with a *chi-rho* indicate that the town was not impoverished and it may be that a fourth-century mosaic school was based here, whose work is found at Scampton, Lincs. Nene Valley ware is found at all Fenland sites and the industry continued into the first two decades of the fifth century.Thus the area was able to continue to thrive until the end of Roman organisation (Potter 1989; Wild 1974; Wild 1978; Fincham 2004;). As the army contracts ended and the population declined, activity in the area was reduced, though lack of excavation means that detail of this decline is absent (Fincham 2004,146 – 157). Although much of the archaeological evidence is now inaccessible, the estate at Orton Hall Farm has been investigated and provides evidence for the late Roman period, as the latest pottery is dated to the end of the fourth or early fifth century, and the latest coin is of Arcadius (AD383 – 408) (Wild 1974, 169; Mackreth 1978; Fincham 2004, 150 – 2). Thus during the Roman period the area adjoining Funthams was rich with industry and agriculture, and indications are that this continued in some measure to the very late days. A distinct Roman presence is shown at Funthams itself.

The Early Saxon Period:

As usual, evidence from this period is much more sparse, though there is nothing in the archaeological record to suggest barbarian attacks or the social unrest of other parts of the country (Wild 1974, 168). There are stray finds of early Saxon material, including a fifth-century cauldron from Cnut's Dyke (Wild 1974, 168 n 157). To the east, 3.5km away at Whittlesey, an apparently Saxon inhumation site was found in1828 with seven skeletons lying west-east which had each an urn at the head, possibly a late Romano-British tradition as there were no other grave goods. At New Fletton, 5km west, a settlement site with seven sunken-featured buildings, pits and ditches is dated to c550 – 700, and at Woodstone, again 5km west, two mixed-rite cemeteries have been known since the mid-nineteenth century. These are dated to the fifth and sixth centuries and have produced many grave-goods including spearheads, shields, knives and numerous brooches of various types, one of which was a cruciform brooch believed to be the oldest in the country. The inhumations were not west-east and there is a horse burial (Meaney 1964, 194 – 5). In 1987 an early

Anglo-Saxon cemetery was excavated at Gunthorpe 7.5km north-west, which revealed previously unknown evidence of an Anglo-Saxon presence on the fen edge, and where 36 inhumations and 1 cremation were excavated, representing probably only part of the cemetery. This is the only all-sixth-century cemetery known in Cambridgeshire and shows affinity in rite and goods with cemeteries at Barrington (south Cambs) and Barton-on-Humber (Lincs) (Patrick et al 2007). In 1999 a mixed-rite cemetery of fifth- and sixth-century date was excavated at Alwalton, 10.5km west, where again only part of the cemetery revealed 33 inhumations and 30 cremations which showed overlap of the inhumation and cremation rites, in terms of chronology and spatial distribution (Gibson 2007).

Near the cathedral 4km west-north-west of Funthams an inhumation with a palm cup was found (Meaney 1964, 194 – 5). The cathedral is on the site of the Saxon church at *Medeshamstede* founded in AD654, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (ASC [E] *sa* 654), though the lack of a genuine foundation charter is not unusual in this country before the arrival of Archbishop Theodore in this country in AD669, after which time gifts of land for religious purposes began to be recorded in solemn diplomas (Stenton 1970, 179). Saxon stonework is still visible in the south transept. The best evidence for early Saxon settlement has been discovered at Orton Hall Farm, Orton Longueville, whose site now lies securely under the buildings of modern Peterborough and a large road junction, but which was fortunately extensively excavated in the 1970's. The Saxon pottery sequence begins possibly in the early fifth century and a fifth-century barred comb of Frisian design was found. The Saxon built features, including a sunken-featured building, respect the then still-standing Roman stone buildings, as can be shown on a plan of the site (Mackreth 1978). Any suggestion of an actual handover of the Romano-British farmstead as a going concern to the incoming Germanic settlers is an attractive supposition but at the moment speculative (Wild 1974, 169; Fincham 2004, 150 – 2). There was no good sign for a complete break between Roman and Saxon occupation, but neither was there evidence that people of different traditions were living side by side (Mackreth 1996, 23).

Conclusion:

Funthams lay near what seems to have been a hive of industrial and agricultural activity through the Roman period, with occupation also in early Saxon times. Any question of continuity, or of sub-Roman activity, is merely speculative. The site lies near several boundaries, the soil boundary in the lower Nene valley, Iron Age coin and tribal boundaries and on the edge of the Nene pottery industry at Stanground. The Nene seems also to have been a dialect boundary in Old English terms, demarcating the northern edge of the palatalisation of /k/ before a front vowel, as Chesterton and Castor have only the Nene and three km between them (Coates 2005a, 308). In modern terms the boundary of Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire is only a kilometre away.

Gazetteer for Funthams.

NGR	Source	Details
TF095 005	OS 227	Upton cross
TL100 960	Scott 1993, 44	villa
TL105 978	OS 227	Ailsworth villa
TL122 969	OS 227	Durobrivae
TL110 960	Scott 1993, 44	villa
TL110 970	Scott 1993, 44	villa
TL110 960	Scott 1993, 44	villa
TL125 985	Scott 1993, 34	Castor, villa
TL128 971	Scott 1993, 35	Mill Hill villa
TL136 962	Gibson 2007	Alwalton AS cem
TL140 970	EHNMR 642701	Lynch Farm
TL157 975	OS 227	Longthorpe R camp
TL175 956	EHNMR 642703	Orton Hall Farm
TL181 996	NMR_NATINV-364006	Westwood RB site
TF184 036	Patrick et al 2007	Gunthorpe AS cem
TL185 988	NMR_NATINV-364243	P/boro R inhum site
TL185 975	Meaney 1964, 194	Woodstone AS cem
TL189 974	NMR_NATINV-364074	New Fletton AS site
TL191 922	NMR_NATINV-364521	Yaxley, Cowbridge Fm
TL194 986	NMR_NATINV364126	cathedral
TL200 001	EHNMR1046227	P/boro multip. Site
TL207 980	NMR_NATINV-367063	Stanground R site
TL208 970	NMR_NATINV-367970	Stanground wharf

TL220 943	NMR_NATINV-367152	Farcet R site
TL210 980	EHNMR-642749	Fengate
TL224 962	NMR_NATINV-367140	Horsey R site
TL226 988	OS 227	Flag Fen
TL239 975	OS 227	Funthams
TL238 968	NMR_NATINV-367139	Fields End Br R site
TL241 980	HER10161	Fenland
TL249 971	NMR_NATINV-367069	King's Dyke
TL278 960	NMR_NATINV-367046	Whittlesey R site
TL275 975	Hall 1987, 59	Whittlesey AS inhum

Area 10 East Warwickshire.

This area has one site, Chadshunt.

The site at present and its earliest name:

It is easy to pass through Chadshunt without realising it. It lies 3km west of the course of the modern M40, 14km south-east of Stratford-on-Avon, on the B4451 between Kineton and Bishop's Itchington. There is no village sign as there is no village as such, for it ranks as a deserted medieval village (NMR_NATINV-335455), and at present on this site there are a few small houses, a large house given over to business purposes and a wooden signpost with the word Chadshunt carved on its base. The church is no longer in use. The surrounding countryside is undistinguished by hills or valleys and is obviously productive agricultural land, open in aspect. This calm belies the earlier importance of Chadshunt, whose name is frequently recorded in charters and returns between c1200 and 1689 (Gover et al 1936, 249 – 50), because the holy well of St Chad, at Chadshunt, was a venue for pilgrims seeking to benefit from its healing properties. It was a lucrative site, for in 1553 the well and oratory brought in an annual income of 16 marks (Warwicks SMR 753). The site of the well and oratory is now on private property, but the spring is, apparently, still active.

The earliest record of the name is in S544, AD949 (12c), *æt ceadeles funtan*, ceadel's spring, from the personal name *ceadel*, or its weak form *ceadela*, who may have been an unknown person, and the association with St Chad may have occurred later, though it should be noted that St Chad was bishop of the diocese of Lichfield between c669 and 672 and it is probable that Chadshunt lay in this diocese in early times (see note at the end of this section). If the **funta* was indeed named for St Chad, then this is the only instance so far known where the person named at a **funta* can be identified. The element **funta* may have been applied to the site earlier than the seventh century and the qualifying element changed, or **funta* may have been taken into the Old English place-name lexicon and used in the seventh century, and though this seems much too late for an element dating from Latin, it is not impossible. This name does not compare with Chadwell,(Essex), where the association with St Chad belies the 1086 entry *celdewella*, cold spring, whereas Chadshunt has the early form in which the qualifier is the personal name (Gover et al 1936, 249 – 50).

General background:

In the LPRIA the area in question appears to have lain in the north of the territory of the Dobunni, near its border with the territory of the Corieltauvi to the north-east, that of the Catuvellauni to the east and that of the Cornovii to the north-west, although such tribal boundaries are always difficult to pinpoint and must be deduced from coin, pottery and settlement evidence. The Dobunni are believed to have been among the eleven tribes whose leaders submitted to the Emperor Claudius in AD43, though this submission may have been only for the northern part of the tribal territory. A division between the northern and southern parts is indicated by ceramic and numismatic evidence. The influence of the neighbouring Atrebates to the south is shown in the adoption of a saucepan pot pottery style, and a later influence from the Catuvellauni is shown in the coinage of the northern part, while Gallo-Belgic imports found in the northern Dobunnic

territory also indicate contact with eastern Britain in the years before AD43. Chadshunt lies in the east of the northern territory, near the boundary with the Catuvellauni (Cunliffe 2005, 189 – 193). The Romans used tribal territories to establish the *civitates* of their administration, and after AD43 *civitas* capitals were established, all far from Chadshunt, at Cirencester (*Corinium Dobunnorum*) 60km to the south-west, at Leicester (*Ratae Corieltauvorum*) 55km north-east and at Wroxeter (*Viroconium Cornoviorum*) 100km north-west. Roads were built soon after the conquest. Fosse Way (Margary 5d) runs to the west of Chadshunt at a distance of 4.5km, linking the *civitas* capitals of Cirencester and Leicester as well as Exeter to the south and Lincoln to the north. Margary 56 crosses Fosse Way at Eatington, 9km south-west of Chadshunt, running north-west to Stratford and Alcester and south-east to Finmere near Buckingham(Fig 46). Fosse Way was constructed by AD60 as a supply route between Exeter and Lincoln, cutting across tribal territories and unfortified for much of its length, signifying that this part of Britain was securely in Roman hands and the advance towards the north-west was well under way (Millett 1990, 55). The nearest built settlement site to Chadshunt is 6km north, at Chesterton-on-Fosse, a fortified station which lies astride Fosse Way which is here 9m wide. The settlement was rebuilt in stone during the third century, and a ditch and wall added early in the fourth century, datable by coin evidence. The coin sequence is constant until the end of the fourth century. There is no indication of a reason for the establishment of a settlement just here, so it may have been for administrative purposes, lying halfway between the roadside settlements on Fosse Way at Dorn and High Cross, perhaps with a *mutatio* or even a *mansio*. There may have been a temple, as a *defixio* relating to a stolen *dalmaticum* was found near the brook which runs west of the built area (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 249 – 252).

A larger settlement lay 25km away at Alcester (?*Alauna*), where Ryknild Street (Margary 18a) from Wall to Bourton-on-the-Water, crossed the road from Droitwich to Tiddington. The town lies beside the road, spreading outside its walled area where quality buildings were erected, and since there are no known villa-estates locally, it may have grown up as a service centre and market town. It would appear that such a site must have had an important rôle after the administrative changes of the fourth century, and though it may have begun as a fort, there was no need to maintain a garrison here. Outside the walls is a cemetery of Roman date, with second-century cremations and third- and fourth-century burials (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 92 – 97).

Agricultural activity appears to have flourished in the area around Chadshunt in the flattish, well-watered land suitable for arable farming. Within a radius of 10km of the spring findspots of Roman material are common, especially of coins, potsherds and bronze jewellery, and Romano-British agricultural activity is indicated by earthworks near villa sites visible in aerial photographs: indeed such earthworks and small finds indicate such activity some 300m south of the spring itself (NMR). The area was suitable for a villa- or farmstead-type economy, with fertile land and good communications, and though there is no sign of any possible collection point for surplus at the small site at Chesterton, at Alcester there was certainly a facility for goods exchange and the possibility of a storage building (Finch Smith 1987, 315). Grain and other goods could have been gathered here for the support of troops in Wales and the north-west. NMR shows that the nearest villa/farm site to Chadshunt is 1.5km east of the spring, at Gaydon, a site which appears to extend over some 3.5ha, and where it is reported that it is difficult to plough more deeply than 13cm as resistance indicates sub-surface material, and finds of quantities of building stone, with flue, *imbrex* and *tegula* tiles suggest that the resistance may well be due to the remains of a substantial masonry structure. Pottery from the site includes only local ware, with some Nene valley and Samian dating to the

second to fourth century. At Lighthorne 3.5km to the north a possible villa/farm site was identified with tile, pottery and animal bone suggesting occupation through the Roman period, especially intense during the fourth century, and here too earthworks indicate field or building boundaries. At Chesterton and Kingston 5km north pottery and tesserae were found but no pavement. At Kineton 2.5km south a Romano-British settlement was identified with building stone, some ten building plots and a small street, 44 coins of the third to fourth century and a dolphin brooch with non-luxury pottery, and 2km to the east of this settlement site a complex was found with possibly two villa-type buildings, with finds of building stone, hypocaust, flue and roof tiles, iron and lead objects and a quern. Linear features and enclosures are indicated, and it is thought that the site was occupied throughout the Roman period.

The late Roman period:

There is little conclusive evidence dating to the late fourth or early fifth century. At Kineton the latest coin is of Valentinian I, AD364 – 375, and elsewhere coin finds are dated vaguely to the fourth century, for example at Chesterton. At Alcester burials are again dated to an unspecified part of the fourth century, and there is no hard evidence of occupation into the fifth century (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 92 – 7). It appears that Chadshunt lay in an area with established routes of communication, continuous population and thriving agricultural production which lasted through the Roman period. This was more a working landscape than an area of conspicuous opulence; large towns and elaborate villa complexes are not found locally, so the evidence often supplied by such sites for the waning of the Roman way of life is lacking. It may be that a sub-Roman population continued to work the land after AD410, as a subsistence economy without Imperial demands.

The early Saxon period:

The Midland region was geographically placed to avoid the initial incursus of Germanic settlers, and it seems that their arrival was at a relatively slow pace. British resistance was firm in the south of the territory of the Dobunni, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records *sub anno* 577 a battle at Dyrham near Bath, and though too much credence must not be placed on any notion of firm dating in this evidence, it must be believed that, at the time when such a battle was fought in the west, the eastern part of Britain had been firmly in Saxon hands for more than a century. The villa economy in western Britain had been relatively robust in the fourth century, continuing in some places into the fifth century, and it may be assumed that some form of agricultural activity was continued by a sub-Roman population (Fulford 2006). It seems that the arrival of Germanic people, or their influence, was initially from the east, as cemetery finds show a marked, but short-lived, Anglian influence. Travel must have been largely overland, which would have been relatively easy as there is no really high land to negotiate and Roman roads were still available. It appears that the initial area of settlement was along the Avon and its tributaries to the south, though the area both north and south of the Avon seems to have come under Anglo-Saxon cultural influence during the pagan period (Ford 1996). Close to Chadshunt, two cemeteries excavated in the early twentieth century are difficult to evaluate. At Lighthorne, 3km north, the site was dug prior to 1923 and skeletons, coins and beads were found, but the necklace of amber beads worn by a female skeleton was, it is said, taken away and the beads made into hatpins,

though the circular enamel bowl escutcheons were deposited in Warwick museum. At Burton Dassett, 4.5km east, a site was discovered in 1908 during quarrying, and 35 skeletons found which are reputed to have been exported, purporting to be the remains of soldiers slain at the battle of Edge Hill in 1642. However, a Type A2 seax found here dates to the late sixth or seventh century.

At Wasperton, 11km to the north-west on the east bank of the Avon, a site with evidence of prehistoric and Roman activity was excavated in 1980 – 5, revealing a cemetery dating from late Roman time to the Saxon period. Practices of both cultures were found side by side, with no evidence of an hiatus in use though continuous use of the cemetery cannot be proved. Indicators of Roman practice include hobnails, nailed coffins, mutilation of corpses and a north-south orientation, while Saxon practice is shown by the presence of grave-goods (weapons and brooches) and south-north or west-east orientation. There are 25 cremations, almost all in urns (type unspecified) and 182 inhumations, of which 137 are Saxon, 36 Roman and 9 (5%) with characteristics of both, and of these 9, which must be the most interesting, 8 have Saxon orientation. Of these 8, 5 have hobnails, 2 have iron nails and one is decapitated. The ninth has Roman north-south orientation and was probably decapitated, but has Anglo-Saxon beads and a pottery vessel. No detail of the weapons is available, but the 66 brooches are of 10 types, more than 50% being of the saucer, applied or small-long types. Most brooches are in pairs in the usual peplos position. Four great square-headed brooches indicate that there were people of high status here in the sixth century, and a composite disc brooch resembles a similar seventh-century brooch from Winnall II, Hampshire. The excavators, BUFAU, suggest that Wasperton was at the western limit of the Saxon advance during the fifth and early sixth century, a frontier zone of ideas if not of people (Wise 1991).

Detailed information is also available from sites a little further away, Stretton-on-Fosse, 22km south-west and Alveston, 13km north-west on the east bank of the Avon (Ford 1996). These two cemeteries were in use from c480 to c625, and the material found here provides evidence for the thesis of an initial arrival from Anglian territory in the east of the country, followed by a later influence from the Saxon settlement area of the Upper Thames to the south. At Stretton-on-Fosse there is evidence in the Saxon cemetery of a Romano-British inhumation of a decapitated female with hobnails present (Gelling 1992, 41), and textile remains show continuity of technique from late Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon periods (Stoodley pers com). Cremation and inhumation rites are contemporary in the cemeteries, and though no evidence of actual cremation has been found at Stretton, there is indication of a fire ritual, whereas at Alveston 35% of burials are of cremations. Grave goods increase in number until the mid-sixth century, after which there is a decrease in the numbers of artefacts found, although where goods are found after this time, the latest graves are the richest, which indicates that it was a change in ritual rather than a decrease in population numbers or in wealth. It may be that, as elsewhere, as the rite changed in the Final Phase, new sites were chosen. The goods show a shift, through time, of cultural influence. Evidence from other cemetery sites supports the findings at Alveston and Stretton: the early brooches at Stretton are small-long, and at Alveston they also include cruciform, annular and cut-out disc of Anglian type, with Anglian-type girdle-hangers and garment clasps. At some point in the first half of the sixth century applied and cast saucer and disc brooches appear, of Saxon style from the Upper Thames (Ford 1996, 73, 84, 85). The Anglian phase appears to have been of shorter duration (ibid 1996, 95). Great square-headed brooches were found at nine sites in the region, showing links with different parts of the country (Hines 1997, passim). Some of these were of very rich and ornate design, and these may, it is suggested, have accompanied brides from

the Cambridge area, or from Kent or the Upper Thames, or alternatively the possibility of a local production centre has been suggested (Gelling 1992, 41 – 48; Ford 1996, 77 – 84). West Saxon type goods may have arrived through trade rather than immigration from the Upper Thames region. Just as an overland route from the east was relatively easy, so a route from the Oxford region was easy via the valley of the Cherwell, and in this way artefacts or stylistic influence from Merovingian France and Europe could reach the middle Avon valley. A crouching beast brooch found at Alveston shows either such influence or the presence of imported goods.

Weapons bear out the evidence gained from brooches, and the presence of weapons is believed to indicate status and ethnicity rather than a military occupation (Härke 1993). The spearhead types here are not always easy to decipher, due to the poor condition of the surviving metalwork, and the report writer suggests a re-appraisal of the weapons (Ford 1996, 88, 92), but it appears that series H, which appears most frequently, and series C, the next, may have been locally produced, with series E appearing around 550, perhaps imported with the saucer brooches from the Upper Thames and with the single examples of K1 and I1 found at Stretton. The most numerous shield groups are 1, 3 and 4, group 4 appearing earliest, between 530 and 550, groups 3 and 1 from 540 into the seventh century and group 2 at Stretton in the second half of the sixth century. Numbers of shield bosses decrease in the mid-sixth century, when the rate of burial was high, though as burial rate decreased during the later sixth century the proportion of shield burials rose and from 580 double spear and shield burials occur. The boss types show comparison with those from Kent, the Upper Thames Wessex and East Anglia as they appear first after 530, and support the impression of trade with southern England after the mid-sixth century.

Thus in the early Saxon period Chadshunt lay in an area where the evidence points to a peaceful co-existence of indigene and settler, with a gradual adoption of Germanic culture during the pagan period, and gives weight to the theory of acculturation by trade and co-operation rather than warlike incursion with fire and the sword. Chadshunt appears to have been near the border of the initial phase of Germanic influence.

Gazetteer for Chadshunt:

NGR	Source	Details
SP095 573	OS 205	Alcester
SP231 568	OS 205	Alveston
SP219 381	Ford 1996	Stretton-on-Fosse
SP265 588	OS 205	Wasperton
SP276 483	OS 205	Eatington crossroads
SP310 610	OS 222	Bishops Tachbrook
SP321 508	WARWSMR-4530	Kineton R site
SP322 507	NMR_NATINV-335452	Kineton R villa site
SP336 562	WARWSMR-680	Lighthorne S cem
SP339 566	WARWSMR-2299	Lighthorne R set
SP342 597	OS 206	Chesterton-on-Fosse
SP349 507	WARWSMR-1184	Kineton R set
SP349 529	NMR_NATINV-335455	Chadshunt DMV
SP350 580	Scott 1993, 179	Chesterton & Kingston, R finds
SP351 532	OS 206	Chadshunt spring
SP350 440	EHNMR-630625	Tysoe, Lodge Hill spur
SP357 465	WARWSMR-8791	Sun Rising Hill, R finds
SP366 531	WARWSMR-687	Gaydon R villa
SP371 482	OS 206	Radway
SP388 577	OS 206	Bishops Itchington
SP395 523	WARWSMR-649 NMR_NATINV-1156377	Burton Dassett S cem

Note on the subject of boundaries in this area.

LPRIA boundaries appear to have been strips of land or areas rather than clearly demarcated lines, even where there is a river. In this area was the meeting of the tribal territories of the Dobunni, Corieltauvi, Catuvellauni and Cornovii, continued, perhaps nominally, by Roman administration. The westward advance of Germanic people, or their culture, meant that here change in the fifth and sixth century was slow, and it seems that the traditional boundaries were maintained, as the area around Chadshunt lay on the border of the later English kingdoms of Mercia, and the Hwicce, which, as shown above, combined Saxon, Anglian and British elements. The first mention of the Hwicce is by Bede, who states that St Augustine preached at an oak tree on the border of the Hwicce with the West Saxons, which may have been in Kemble Wood on the border of modern Gloucestershire and Wiltshire(Eagles 2003), trying to persuade the local Christian population to adopt Roman Christianity rather than their own Celtic Christian practice:

In loco ubi usque hodie lingua Anglorum Augustinaes Ac, id est Robur

Augustini, in confinio Huicciorum et Occidentialium Saxonum appellatur (EH II, 2)

which was probably in AD603, only some thirty years after the battle of Dyrham (Hooke 1985, 10). In the later seventh century the Tribal Hidage lists the Hwicce as comprising some 7000 hides (ibid, 8). On cemetery evidence the boundary of the Hwicce with Mercia ran to the north of modern Warwick, 12km north (Ford 1996, 96) and Warwick was on the early political boundary (Hooke 1999, 1). The name Mercia derives from *mierce,* the people of the march or border (Hooke 1982, 7), as the English kingdom of Mercia adjoined the British-controlled territory to the west, which indicates the perception of a boundary of ethnic difference in the two areas. Mercia had influence in the territory of the Hwicce during the seventh century, taking control here during the eighth century (Hooke 1985, 19). As part of the episcopal re-organisation undertaken by Archbishop Theodore, the see of Worcester was founded in 680 specifically for the kingdom of the Hwicce, divided from the Mercian see of Lichfield. The bishops of the Hwicce became the bishops of Worcester and the boundaries of the see of Worcester are believed to have been co-terminous with those of the kingdom of the Hwicce, which in turn had probably been the territory of the Dobunni (Hooke 1985, 5), for still in the tenth century the bishops of Worcester are called *episcopi Hwicciorum* (Dyer 1980, 7; Gelling 1992, 80), and thus this boundary may have been in existence for a millennium. The boundary between the see of Worcester and the see of Lichfield, and thus between Hwicce and Mercia, is close to Chadshunt, taking a sinuous route around the local parishes. Slater (1981, 27) shows on his map (source unknown) that Chadshunt lay in the diocese of Lichfield, ie in Mercia; whereas Gelling (1992, 99) shows on her map (based on the county map published by the Institute of Heraldic and Genealogical Studies, showing the archdeaconries of Worcester and Coventry, thought to represent the early diocesan boundary and the divide between the Hwicce and Mercia) a loop which includes Kineton and Bishops Itchington within the see of Worcester. Since Chadshunt lies between them it may be assumed that Chadshunt also lay in that see, although Radway and Burton Dassett, parishes adjoining Chadshunt, lay in the Mercian see of Lichfield. However, further research

by Dr Gelling (unpublished) suggests that the original diocesan affiliation of Chadshunt, a member of the manor of Tachbrook, may in fact have been Lichfield. In 1043 the priory of Coventry was founded, and in 1086 Chadshunt is listed as the land of the church of Coventry (DB 653). In 1535 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, under the County of Warwicks, Coventry and Lichfield diocese, lists Chadshunt and other local parishes as peculiars in this diocese. Thus on current evidence the diocesan boundary appears to put Chadshunt in Mercia, in the diocese of Lichfield, later Coventry.

Chadshunt spring is one km from the parish boundary with Burton Dassett and two km from the parish boundary with Radway. In Radway parish the field-name Martinmow is held to derive via Martlemere (1756), Merclemere (c1256) from *mercna mere* (S773), boundary of the Mercians (Gover et al 1936, 272; Hooke 1985, 13; Gelling 1992, 97 – 98; Hooke 1999, 64 – 67). At present it is unclear why the episcopal and parish boundaries do not coincide with the obvious topographical boundary of Edge Hill, a ridge of high ground on the eastern edge of Radway.

On the ridge of Edge Hill at Lodge Hill, some 9km south of Chadshunt spring and south of Radway, there was formerly a turf carving of a horse which was coloured red because of the local soil, probably dedicated to Tīw, a pagan god, on the *hoh*, or hill-spur, hence the parish name Tysoe. The Red Horse of Tysoe was mentioned by John Speed (1606) and by Camden (1607) and is referred to in local leases, but was probably ploughed up in c1800 (www.hows.org.uk/personal/hillfigs/lost/tysoe/tysoe.htm). This would not only mark a boundary but also be a sacred place, and indeed the spur is opposite the church in Middle Tysoe (Gelling 1992, 92, 98), but unfortunately excavation on Lodge Hill revealed no trace of such a carving. There are signs of Roman occupation here and though Romano-British potsherds, jewellery remains and Roman coins have been found along this stretch of Edge Hill, the coin density is not such as to suggest any Romano-British temple, cultic or votive site to precede the dedication to Tīw. An alternative site for the figure is Sun Rising Hill, two km to the north along Edge Hill. This name would have been given by people living to the west, in Hwiccan land and in the see of Worcester.

In support of other evidence, place-names indicate a linguistic boundary. To the west of the Avon many more names suggest the presence of people continuing to speak Primitive Welsh after the English settlement. This becomes more evident further west into Worcestershire, the territory of the Hwicce, and is consistent with the archaeological evidence which shows a late and gradual Germanic influence. The element **funta,* in Chadshunt, adds further to this linguistic evidence: **funta* was a Latin loan into Old English, and Primitive Welsh had its own cognate, *font-*. All evidence points to Chadshunt being on the Mercian side of a boundary, where the Old English element would have been used. No use of *font-* has as yet been pinpointed to the west, which would clinch the argument, but this may still be found.

All evidence, historical, archaeological and linguistic puts Chadshunt on the English side of a boundary, with the British to the west, though with some overlap of language and culture which suggests that the boundary was more a zone than a line of demarcation.

Area 11 To the north and west of London.

To the north and west of London where the ground rises as the foothills of the Chilterns, there are four **funta* sites which appear to be linked by their situation, lying as they do in an arc apparently on the edge of the territory (Fig 42). From east to west they are Cheshunt (Herts), about 22 km north of the Thames crossing at Londinium, Bedmond (Herts), about 36 km to the north-north-west, Chalfont (Buck), about 36 km to the north-west and Bedfont (Middx) (now in the London Borough of Hounslow), about 27 km to the west. Between these sites and modern London is the northern part of the London basin, now extensively built up and forming part of Greater London. Because of the proximity of Londinium to these **funta* sites it is appropriate to consider the establishment and development of the city during the Roman and early Saxon periods, before examining factors during these times which relate more closely to the four sites individually, which may show similarities between them and throw some light on why certain places were called **funta*, and others were not.

General Background: London.

The Roman Period:

There was no LPRIA predecessor to Roman Londinium. Traces of Iron Age presence have been found on the gravel terraces on the north bank of the Thames near the Walbrook and Fleet streams (Perring 2000, 127), but an early first-century BC focus to the west of London, where coins and metalwork have been found, probably ceased to function by about 60BC (Kent 1978, 56 – 7). Iron Age votive deposits have been found in the Thames (Wait and Cotton 2000, 110 - 1). Because of the lack of a previous settlement, there has been uncertainty as to the origin and development of the name *Londinium* which the Romans adopted, but a case is made for its derivation from an hypothetical **Plowonidā*, a river which needs a boat to cross, ie. that part of the Thames which lay below the lowest crossing point, the name then developing to **Plowonid+on+jon,* the place at the boat river. It is not unusual for an estuary to have a different name from that of the river which feeds it (Coates and Breeze 2000, 24, 25). Prior to AD43 the site which is now known as London was a wide riverine area, liable to flood, unpopulated, apparently unimportant and part of no tribal territory.

To the north and west the clay of the London basin gives way to the chalk of the Chilterns, where three of the four sites in question lie. Here there is evidence of LPRIA settlement; the south-west Chilterns were poorly settled but to the north, in modern Hertfordshire, there were at this time important sites at Braughing and Baldock, and the land to the east, between the Chilterns and the river Lea, was quite densely settled (Cunliffe 2005, 163). During the years prior to AD43 Verulamium began to grow in importance, for sites near edges and boundaries were often seen as significant, and Verulamium lay near the edge of the territory of the Catuvellauni and probably became a tribal capital. It was at the junction of soil types, so enjoying the benefits of all, a site where metalwork, a magic art, was carried out and at the limit of early first-century BC coin distribution when it had been less important (Haselgrove 1987, 162 – 180; Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 283 – 4). As the site grew and developed Tasciovanus (died c AD10) issued coins bearing the letters VER, VERO etc, indicating a possible mint here, and which also show scenes of

ritual enactment with representations of a *lituus*, indicating likewise that the town had been founded according to Roman ritual. It was a place of political importance but shows little evidence of trade (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 278; Creighton 2000,204 – 15; Niblett 2006,19). In the first part of the first century AD Camulodunum (modern Colchester)
was the political centre of the tribal unit of the *Catuvellauni* and *Trinovantes,* with Verulamium probably a cult centre.

This was the situation when the Claudian army arrived in AD43.The lower Thames and its estuary were sparsely populated, the higher ground well to the north was well-populated and in the rich territory of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes, with a by now important settlement at Verulamium probably containing a wealthy, élite ruling class with strong pro-Roman leanings: a rich cremation burial here at Folly Lane, dated to AD55 – 60 may have been that of a client ruler (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 286). As it was already pro-Roman, and close to the Roman new town at Londinium, it perhaps did not need a garrison such as was established at Camulodunum.

Roads were soon constructed from Londinium to the provinces (Fig 43): Watling Street (Margary 1d) led from Westminster to Verulamium, with Bedmond close by to the west, then on north-west to connect with Fosse Way. Ermine Street (Margary 2a) led from London due north to Lincoln and York, passing through Cheshunt, and the road to Silchester (*Calleva*) led west via Bedfont and Staines (*Pontes, Pontibus*). Roadside settlements grew up at intervals along the roads, in a ring some 15 - 20 km from the city (Perring 2000, 150). Some of these settlements contracted during the late second to early third century, but there is evidence of revival in the fourth century, with rebuilding with masonry walls and tiled roofs at Enfield, Brentford and Staines; in fact Enfield was continuously occupied (Perring 1991, 119; Perring 2000, 150), (see below). Some roadside sites may have had the status of *vici* for administrative purposes, some may have been farms. Only fourteen sites away from main roads to the north of the Thames are known, and the history of Roman settlements in the London area is as yet hardly known (Sheldon and Schaaf 1978, 82).

The northern hinterland appears to have been sparsely populated, with few known shrines or temples, which were usually located elsewhere on previous tribal boundaries and so here provide no evidence. It appears that the hinterland may have had an organised division of land, probably at first under imperial control (Perring 1991; Perring 2000) where activities related to the proximity of London were carried out, such as market gardening, animal husbandry and the production of tile and brick.

The Late Roman Period:

It has been believed formerly that the population within Londinium itself diminished gradually during the fourth century and activity was sluggish, though it is now shown that the cemeteries were crowded, indicating a general maintenance of numbers (Perring 1991, 121). Excavation between 1983 and 1990 at various sites in Tower Hamlets has indicated a large cemetery in use from the first to the fifth century, with much evidence dating to the third and fourth centuries. A large amount of information on artefacts, organic material and burial practice has been gained, some appearing to have more in common with Continental cemeteries. Of particular note are two graves which show a Germanic influence, B374 and B538.

B374, a late fourth-century female grave, contained a pair of silver tutulus brooches of a Germanic type rare in Britain, and a triangular-series comb which likewise indicates a Germanic influence, as, though they are common on the Continent, they are rare in this country. B538 is a late fourth- or early fifth-century male burial containing, among other artefacts, military belt equipment of chip-carved copper alloy from a *cingulum*, a fourth-century badge of office, and this example more like those found on the Continent than in Britain, for example at Mucking. The decoration is in the tradition of chip-carved metalwork concentrated on the frontiers of the Roman Empire. It is suggested that the female in B374 was of immigrant stock, but it is the fact of a Germanic influence in the graves which raises questions about the situation in early fifth-century London (Barber and Bowsher 2000, xiv, 183 – 4, 206 – 8, 305 – 6). Other recent research has led to the belief that in fact there was no real decline in population in the fourth century; a new, large, aisled building at Colchester House was constructed astride the main east-west road post-AD350, perhaps a *horreum* (granary) or a religious, not civil, basilica, which indicates no decline in population or importance: such buildings were found only in important strategic and metropolitan centres. On the eastern town wall new bastions were added in the late fourth century and also a new river wall near the Tower. In fact Londinium was more vigorous at this time than many cities in the western Empire (Sankey 1998). It may be that rather than a population decline, there was actually a continually changing population, since a new governor would bring his own staff and have no reluctance in demolishing the residence of his predecessor in order to construct his own, and the port continued to function until the end of the Roman administration (Fulford 1998; Millett 1998).

It appears that at the beginning of the fifth century Londinium itself may or may not have been less densely populated, but that activity was continuous here and in at least parts of the hinterland. However, with the collapse of Londinium as a political centre, its economy must have gone into recession, and with it that of the surrounding countryside (Vince 1990, 131).

The Early Saxon Period:

London and its northern hinterland show so far a marked lack of early Anglo-Saxon material, though this may indicate a lack of excavation rather than a lack of evidence awaiting discovery, or maybe evidence which has been destroyed. Recent excavation just to the north of St Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, shows that there was in fact a much shorter time than had been supposed between Roman Londinium and Saxon Lundenwic, as on this site were excavated a late fourth-century Roman kiln and nearby a sarcophagus dating to AD390 – 430, with an Anglo-Saxon pot of about 500. St Martin died in AD397, and there are other early dedications to him, so it is tempting, but perhaps dubious, to see here the continuity of a site of Christian significance. It is suggested that during this period London was an area comprising the walled city to the east with later settlement developing to the west along the north bank of the Thames, here at St Martin's, at Hammersmith, Brentford, Putney and Barn Elms (Swain 2007). All evidence from this period is from gravels and brickearth, none from clay (Fig 44). The rivers to the south, which flow north into the Thames, attracted early settlement at, for example, Orpington, Kent, on the Cray, Mitcham, Croydon and Beddington, Surrey, on the Wandle, and there is early settlement at Mucking Essex, downstream from London. In contrast,

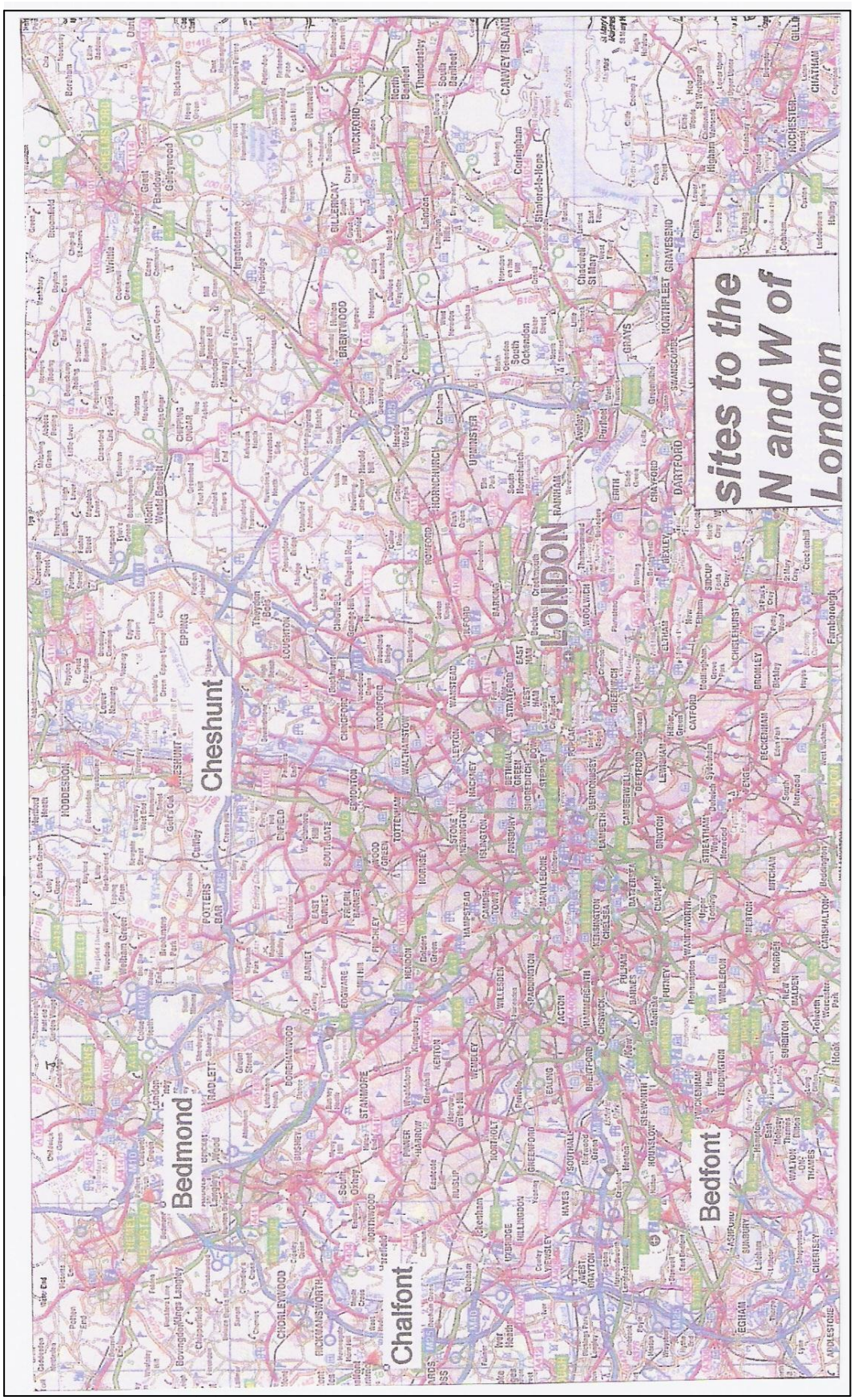

sites to the
N and W of
London
Cheshunt
Bedmond
Chalfont
Bedfont
LONDON

Figure 42

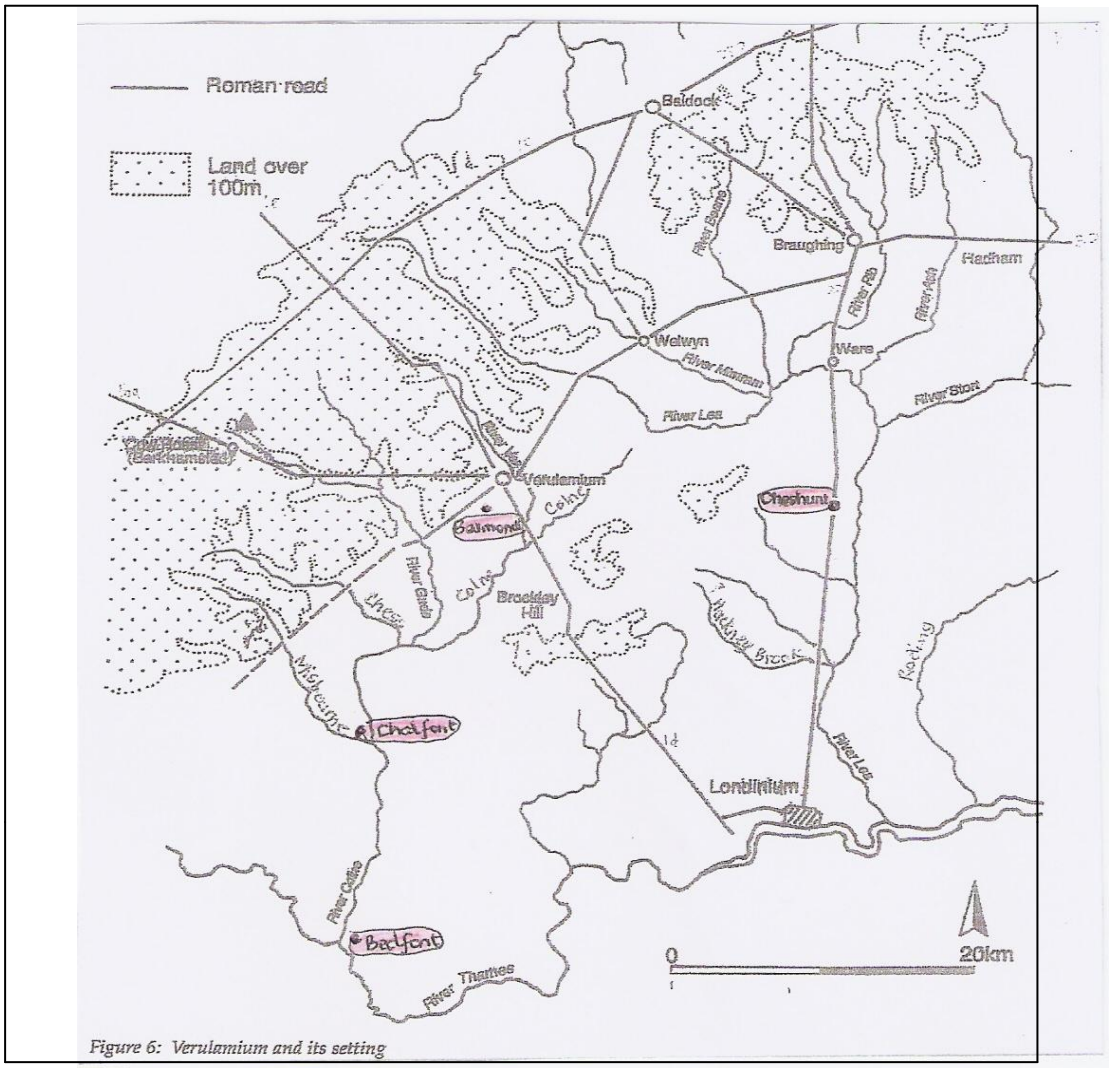


Figure 6: Verulamium and its setting

Figure 43 Roman roads and ****funta* **sites.

Adapted from Niblett (2006, 20) to include ****funta* **sites.

there is little evidence to show that early settlers used the rivers flowing south into the Thames from Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, or in Middlesex, though there is evidence of a settlement at Harmondsworth on the Colne just upstream from Staines (Cowie 2000, 203, GAZ HL7 – HL12), at Enfield on the Lea 13km upstream from theThames (ibid 202, GAZ EN1) and beside the Thames at Fulham (ibid 202, GAZ HF3). There was also considerable early settlement on the Upper Thames. However, at Barn Elms and Putney fish traps dated as early Anglo-Saxon have been found, and at Mortlake and Kingston sunken-featured buildings dating to the sixth and seventh centuries were excavated (Cohen 2003, 11). There are stray finds of metal artefacts in the Thames, such as the early Anglo-Saxon spearheads found at Brentford (Cohen 2003, 11). An early settlement with two sunken-featured buildings was found at Brentford, and 3km upstream from Brentford, near the Brent at Hanwell, an inhumation cemetery was found in the nineteenth century, with seven graves, three gilt-bronze saucer brooches and more than fifty iron spearheads indicating a much larger cemetery, and where some years later Saxon pottery and lead discs were found (Meaney 1964, 167; Cowie 2000, 202, GAZ EN1). At Shepperton a mixed-rite cemetery is said to have been found at the end of the eighteenth century, with barrows reported to have been levelled by 1793 (Meaney 1964, 167 – 8). A map of the early Saxon settlements on each side of the Thames shows the difference in settlement pattern (Fig 44): to the north the evidence is clustered along the river bank, but to the south the settlements and cemeteries spread into the hinterland along the valleys of the tributaries. This mirrors the geological map which shows alluvium and river deposits corresponding with the known early Anglo-Saxon settlement (Geological Survey 10 mile map), and could also reflect the political situation prevailing in the fifth century.

There is little evidence of early Anglo-Saxon presence inside the walled city of Londinium, only occasional stray finds, with early settlement along the shore (above), until Lundenwic developed to the west as a port in the late seventh century. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions London in passing *sub anno* 457, when the defeated British are said to have fled within its walls after the battle of *Crecganford.* There is no evidence to suggest a military onslaught against the city, and the tower at Shadwell to the east on the Thames, previously believed to be a military signal tower, has now proved to be a domestic, burial and industrial site probably serving a nearby farmstead (Lakin et al 2002). A church dedicated to St Paul was built within the city after the see was established in AD 604.

The relevance of the history of the London area to the four **funta* sites is whether they lie on some boundary to the north, and if so, who needed a boundary, the inhabitants to the south in the London basin or the people living to the north. The bank and ditch earthworks in the Chilterns and in the Cray valley were territorial markers, their ditches towards London, indicating that they were erected by folk to the north who wished or needed to demarcate their lands.

The *Territorium* of London:

It is important to note that the size and extent of the *territorium* of Roman Londinium are unknown, but the immediate *territorium* is estimated to include an area of perhaps 3 – 5 km from the walls (Sheldon and Schaaf 1978,63, 76). The

hinterland to the north appears to have been controlled by State authority, and the walled area of the city lay on the north bank of the Thames; to the south of the first bridge lay Southwark, an important and well-populated area of industry and commerce, but not in the city as such, so it may be that there was no controlled area to the south of the Thames as there may have been to the north. When the Roman troops arrived in AD 43 there was no indigenous resistance as there was no local population, so they had a free hand. The Grim's ditches in the Chilterns are too far

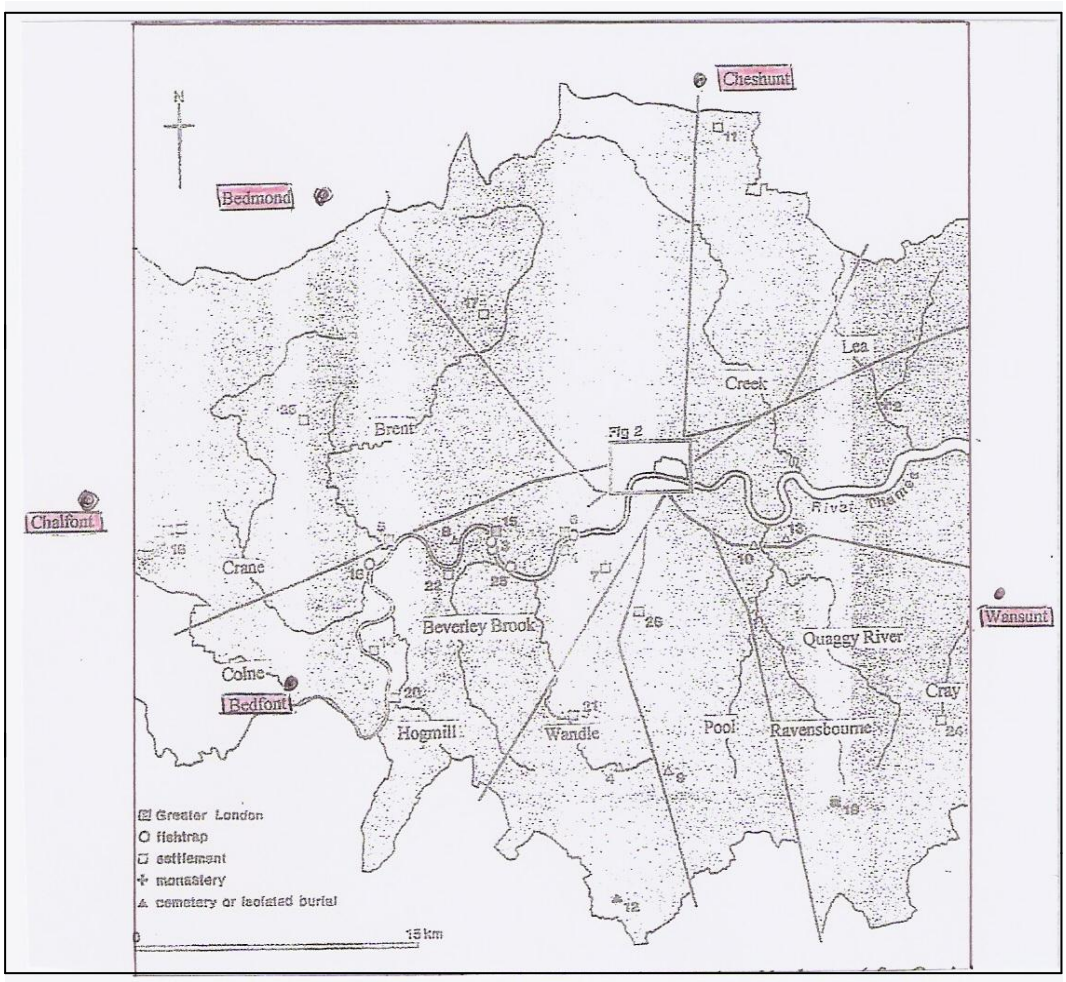


Figure 44 Fifth- and sixth-century Saxon sites north and south of the Thames.
Adapted from Blackmore (2002, 275) to show the approximate position of the ****funta* **sites near London.

north to correspond to what is known of the area under the control of London, and the Pear Wood earthwork, though closer in, appears to be very short. These bank and ditch earthworks are believed to be no earlier than the fourth century, though dating such works is fraught with difficulty (Crawford 1931; Hughes 1931; Wheeler 1934; Merrifield 1983, 260 – 2).

The ancient and traditional territorial rights of Londoners are referred to by Stow, writing in 1603, and quoting William FitzStephen (?1130 – 1191). Londoners

"have liberty of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, all the Chilterns and in Kent to the waters of the Cray", which rights were affirmed by Henry I in his charter granted to the citizens of London in ?1131. Stow also refers to the disaforestation of Middlesex and the warren of Staines in 1218, and the confirmation to the citizens of London in 1226 of free warren or liberty to hunt "a certain circuit about the city, in the warren of Staines etc" (Stow 1971, 93, 153). It may be that these territorial limits refer back to ancient boundaries, and may be significant here as, although the references to Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and the Chilterns are somewhat vague, Wansunt lies above the Cray, just near the earthwork, and Bedfont is near Staines, where close by an ancient cursus has been found. These boundaries may precede the period of Roman-Saxon transition, and may have been accepted and considered important since prehistory. However, the whole question of the territorial, and other, rights and duties of Londoners through the centuries is a large study on its own.

Gazetteer for London:

TQ001 998	OS 172	Chalfont
TQ035 710	OS 160	Staines
TQ060 780	OS 160	Harmondsworth
TQ085 736	OS 160	East Bedfont
TL099 039	OS 182	Bedmond
TL132 073	OS 182	St Albans, Verulamium
TQ180 775	OS161	Brentford
TQ325 805	OS 173	London, Thames crossing
TQ345 970	OS 174	Enfield
TL349 025	OS 174	Cheshunt
TQ536 760	OS 162	Cray/Darent confluence
TQ541 780	OS 162	mouth of Darent

Bedfont, Middlesex.

The site at present and its earliest name:

The local area still retains the atmosphere of a village, with the old church (Fig 45) beside the green and areas of grass and trees interspersed between the houses on the south side of the main road.

Fig 45 East Bedfont, church of St Mary the Virgin.

The **funta* is usually supposed to refer to East Bedfont, which today lies on either side of the A315 from London to Staines, and 1km south of Terminal 4 at Heathrow Airport (Fig 46). To the east, west and south the countryside is either covered by building or devoted to reservoirs, and to the north lies the huge complex of Heathrow.

A spring has been recorded on the A315, the Roman road, about half a mile from the church (Cole 1985, 7), but there is now no spring shown on the 1:25 000 map and no water to be found which may mark its earlier site, which is not surprising considering the development taking place here, so for present purposes distances are measured from the church of St Mary the Virgin. The bridge over the Thames at Staines is about 5km to the south-west. The earliest record of the name is in Domesday, as *Bedefunt, -funde*, and later with a variant *–f(o)unte*, and in 1373 *Bedhunt. Estbedefont* is recorded 1235, and in1405 *Chirchebedfounte*, to distinguish it from nearby West Bedfont and referring to the twelfth-century church of St Mary, though a priest is recorded in Domesday at West Bedfont (Domesday, 363 – 5; Mills 2004,71; Watts 2004,46). The name is paralleled by Bedmond, Herts and Bedfordwell, E Sussex. The first element in all three cases appears as *Bede-*, which Ekwall (1959) insisted was not only the Old English personal name *Beda*, but also was a reference to the Venerable Bede himself. The editors of the appropriate county volumes of the English Place-Name Society disagree with both these suggestions, the second of which is fanciful, on phonological and historical grounds, and it is now thought more likely that the element derives from OE *byden*,

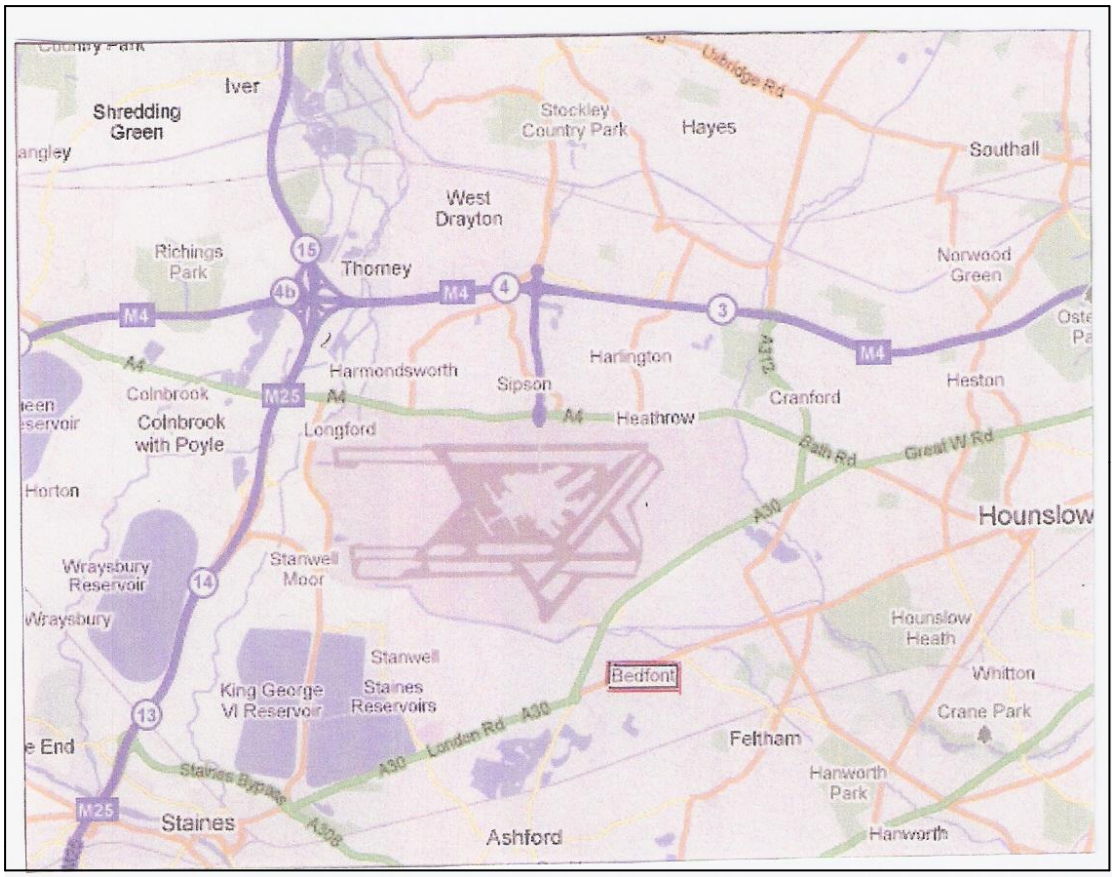


Figure 46 The area around Bedfont.

beden, a trough, also commonly found with *wielle* (Gover et al 1942, 12 – 13; Rumble 1989). The neighbouring parish to the west is Stanwell, whose name reinforces the belief that to the Anglo-Saxons a **funta* was different from a *wiella*, and a *byden* was something more than a stone embellishment (Gelling and Cole 2000, 18).

General Background:

The area was occupied from prehistoric times. The nearby Stanwell cursus may have followed the line of an ancient pathway, and was probably constructed 3600 – 3000 BC. It has now been excavated for a distance of 3.6km running roughly north-south. This was not a bank-and -ditch territorial marker but an embanked raised path, which, it is suggested, had ritual significance. The cursus is revealed on the excavation site at Perry Oaks sludge works, now the site of Terminal 5 at Heathrow, some 3.5km north-west of Bedfont, and where human presence is recorded as dating from the middle of the seventh millennium BC, continuing throughout prehistoric time (Brown et al 2006). On the northern edge of Heathrow is the site of the mid-Iron Age temple, some 2.5km north of Bedfont and now under Terminal 1 (Fig 46).

There is widespread evidence of prehistoric to Iron Age settlement in the area near Bedfont (NMR records), and many of these sites continued to be occupied into the Roman era (Fig 53). Examples include the site at Mixnam's Pit some 6.5km to the south-west, where evidence of Neolithic, Iron Age and Romano-British activity was found during excavation in 1944 – 5, but the site is now destroyed by gravel extraction. Evidence was also recorded at Hengrove Farm some 3.5km to the south-west, and closer to Bedfont, 1.5km south-west at Mayfield Farm, a similar site was in use from the Bronze Age, through the Iron Age and into Roman times. To the north and west similar sites of continuous occupation have been excavated, at Imperial College sports ground 3.5km north-north-west and at Wall Garden Farm 4km north-north-west, and at Perry Oaks sludge works where occupation continued into Roman times. The records of sites in use from prehistoric to Roman times are too numerous to list completely, but a site at Holloway Lane, Harmondsworth, 5km north-west, produced evidence of a Neolithic site, continuing in use with finds of a quarry, enclosure and field system dating to Roman time and, importantly, later used by Saxon settlers, though use of the term continuous is contentious (NMR and below). A Roman burial is listed 0.5km south of Bedfont, with no further details available, and it may well be that similar sites in the area have not been located, as to the east of Bedfont the land is covered by building of various types and therefore not available for excavation.

About 500m west of the church the A315 through Bedfont joins the route of the main Roman road (Margary 4a) from London to Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*), via Brentford and Staines, which was constructed soon after AD43, the bridge at Staines (*Pontes, Pontibus*) lying 5km south-west of Bedfont. There was probably no Iron Age settlement at Staines, and probably no river crossing, as here the Colne and the Wraysbury flow from the north to join the Thames and a crossing would have been difficult for pre-Roman people. Staines is on lowlying land which is liable to flooding, especially, apparently, during the third century, and even though the settlement was important from Early Roman times as a *mutatio*, there is no evidence of large buildings, though the late second and early third centuries saw masonry buildings with tessellated floors, wall-plaster and the use of non-local stone, with flue tiles indicating the presence of hypocausts. As at many roadside settlements in the London hinterland, there is evidence of early prosperity, followed by contraction and then fourth-century

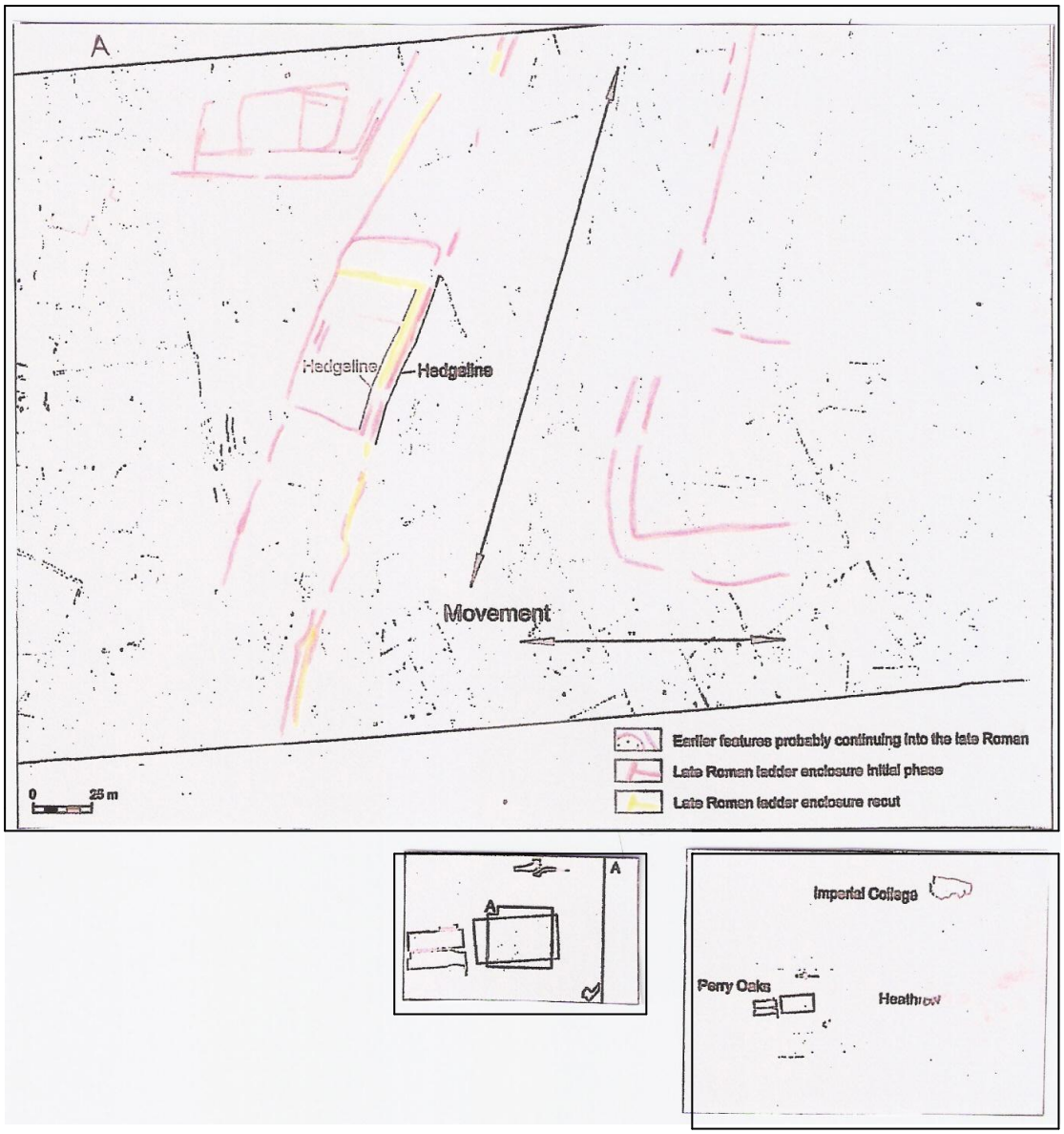


Figure 47 The Late Roman ladder system.

Adapted from Brown et al (2006, 224, 226).

resurgence; Brentford on the same London road has coin evidence of late fourth-century occupation (Finch Smith 1987, 210; Thompson et al 1998, 92). The north bank of the Thames at Staines was probably used as grazing land, and it is suggested that animals were brought here for provisioning London (McKinley 2004). The Roman ladder system (below) would bear this out. It appears that although Staines was an important settlement, halfway between London and Silchester, it never gained high status (ibid). Thus Bedfont was in the direct line of traffic to and from London, lying as it did some 40km from Silchester, 5km from Staines and 11km from Brentford on the way to London. The road from Verulamium to Laleham also passed about 4km to the south-west (NMR).

The Late Roman Period:

There is little evidence which may be securely dated to this particular period. The settlement at Staines apparently suffered large-scale flooding in the late fourth and early fifth centuries (Burnham and Wacher 1990, 309). However, once again a major piece of evidence comes from the excavation at Perry Oaks sludge works 3.5km west-north-west: the late Iron Age field system here was constantly modified, but in the mid-Roman period the enclosures were totally changed into a rectilinear ladder-style arrangement with a 90m wide central droveway between enclosures on each side (Fig 47). This linked with a similar system to the north at Imperial College sports ground. It is suggested that the droveway was for animals being driven to holding pasture at Staines, and then for slaughter for the London market, as butchery activity has been identified at Staines (Bird 1996, 224). The ladder system originated in the third century and continued in use through the fourth and even into the fifth centuries (Brown et al 2006, 206 – 227). This would agree with the suggestion that some roadside settlements in the hinterland were used to gather animals for London, for example Old Ford on the Colchester road and Enfield on Ermine Street (McKinley 2004, 62). The drastic reorganisation of the field system could also indicate state, or at least large estate, management, which again has been suggested in respect of the hinterland (Brown et al 2006; Perring 1991; 2000). A further significant find relating to the late Roman period was made to the west of the settlement at Perry Oaks, where part of a late fourth- or early fifth-century lead tank was unearthed, ritually broken prior to deposition and with each panel of the side decorated, not with the usual *chi-rho* or *orantes*, but with a *crux decussata* (St Andrew's cross). The actual reason for, and dating of, the deposition are uncertain, but it bears witness to at least a small Christian community in the locality (Brown et al 2006, 227 – 229).

The Early Saxon Period:

There is as yet no evidence of fifth-century settlement in this area, but a settlement dating to the sixth or seventh century, with rectangular buildings, farmland and crops including flax, has been located south of the modern village of Longford, north of Perry Oaks, 4km north of Bedfont (www.framearch.co.uk/t5) although the early medieval finds from Perry Oaks are due to be published in 2009. However, at Harmondsworth, some 5km north-north-west of Bedfont, near and along Holloway Lane, there is a cluster of early Anglo-Saxon sites which is the most extensive yet known in the Greater London area, lying along the river terrace overlooking the Colne, which could be a dispersed settlement or perhaps a shifting

settlement (*Wandersliedung*), such as the site at Mucking and others known in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Suffolk (Cowie 2000, 179). This large site has been excavated in various places: at Manor Farm there is evidence of occupation, with a sunken-featured building and chaff-tempered pottery (Thompson et al 1998, 82; Cowie 2000, 203 GAZ HL8) and at Prospect Park sunken-featured buildings and two possible halls (Cowie 2000, 203 GAZ HL7), at Home Farm a loomweight (Thompson et al 1998, 82; Cowie 2000,203 GAZ HL11) and nearby at the widening of the M4 a sunken-featured building (Thompson et al 1998, 82). All these sites are within 1km of each other west-east, in a band some 500m north-south, suggesting a dispersed settlement. At Wall Garden Farm there are traces of an early settlement (Cowie 2000, 203 GAZ HL12). Apart from the site at Harmondsworth, further to the south at Shepperton Green some 5.5km away, a sunken-featured building was found (Thompson et al 1998, 97). No exact dating has been given for this, nor for the extensive settlement at Harmondsworth above, but an early Saxon presence is well represented in the area.

Conclusion:

It appears that the area around Bedfont was given over to small-scale agriculture, with farmsteads continuing to be used from prehistoric into Roman times, some of which were also occupied in the early medieval period. The first-century indigenous population appear to have stayed and gradually become assimilated into the Romano-British economy, catering for the needs of Staines and London. The third-century ladder system may indicate a higher authority exerting control and overseeing the movement of stock. There is as yet no evidence for a villa-type economy in Roman times, perhaps because the soil types and landscape layout were unsuitable or perhaps because the system of land tenure was not appropriate, and nor is there evidence for any fifth-century occupation by Germanic people. However, the later evidence recovered at Perry Oaks may reveal more details, and its eventual publication to the same high quality as the first volume is anticipated. It is unfortunate that, as in many places, building or other development prevents much more excavation.

The significance of the use of the elements **funta* and *wiella* in such close proximity remains to be discussed. The choice of place-name elements was never random, as far as is known.

Gazetteer for Bedfont:

TQ035 710	OS 160	Staines, bridge
TQ040 692	EHNMR641956	Mixnam's Pit R set
TQ050 720	EHNMR1210937	Hengrove Farm R set
TQ050 766	OS 160	Longford
TQ050 780	Cowie 2000	Prospect Park
TQ055 756	Brown et al 2006, 5	Perry Oaks
TQ056 777	Cowie 2000	Manor Farm
TQ060 783	Cowie 2000	M4 widening
TQ061 777	Cowie 2000	Home Farm
TQ070 677	Thompson 1998, 97	Shepperton S set
TQ070 703	GLSMR050224	Mayfield Farm, R set
TQ077 782	Cowie 2000	Wall Garden Farm
TQ080 770	EHNMR1332211	Imperial Coll Sports Grd.
TQ085 736	OS 160	East Bedfont church
TQ180 775	OS 161	Brentford

Chalfont, Bucks.

The site at present and its earliest name:

Chalfont lies to the north of Gerrards Cross, on the small river Misbourne which rises in the Chilterns north of High Wycombe and flows south-east to join the Colne just north of Uxbridge. Chalfont St Giles and Chalfont St Peter are named for the dedication of their churches. The Colne runs some 3km to the east, beyond ground which rises to about 100m, and the A413 passes through the villages, following the course of the Misbourne. There is said to be a "perennial spring" at Chalfont St Peter (Cole 1985, 8) but since this is not to be found, nor shown on the large-scale map, distances are, for present purposes, measured from the church at Chalfont St Peter (Fig 48).

Figure 48 Chalfont St Peter, church of St Peter.

In Domesday *Celfunde* refers to Chalfont St Peter, *Celfunte* to Chalfont St Giles (Domesday 397, 417). Recently the charter S151, AD796, has become available, a grant of land to St Albans abbey of five *manentes* at *Pinnelesfeld,* modern Pynesfield Lake on the Colne 3.5km to the east of Chalfont St Peter (OS 172). The charter bounds refer to the boundary of this estate with the lands of the *cealcfuntinga,* the people who live at the chalk spring (Gelling pers comm.; Crick pers comm.; Langscape pers comm.)

ofer þæt Þætergefeal þæt on Cealcfuntinga gemærhagan

This reference now supersedes former suggested derivations of Chalfont from *Ceadeles funtan,* personal name *Ceadel* + **funta* (Mawer and Stenton 1925, 218 – 9) or from *cealf* + **funta,* calf-spring (Watts 2004, 124). Whether the charter S151 is genuine or not, the word *cealcfuntinga* is important. This

formation, as well as being in a presumably earlier record if S151 is spurious, is paralleled by place-names in the homelands where names can refer to soil-type, and there is in England no other known **funta* name which combines the element with the name of an animal, which makes a reference to soil more credible than a reference to an animal. The soil at Chalfont is clay-with-flints over chalk, not a type which was attractive to either Romano-British or Saxon farmers.

General Background:

It is difficult to write convincingly on the early history of the immediate area. It may be that there was no prehistoric presence here, or that evidence of it has not yet come to light or been published, and indeed evidence of even Roman activity is sparse. There are signs of Roman building at two sites in Amersham, one some 9km from Chalfont to the north-west, where an agricultural site with pottery, flue, roof and floor tiles, coins, a drier, yards and iron-working is dated to the second to fourth centuries, and another a little closer at 6.5km to the north-west, eroded by plough and water but producing evidence of floor and roof tiles, painted plaster, wall-brick, tesserae, glass, charcoal and animal bones and dated to the first to third centuries. Further away at High Wycombe, 12km west, was found a double corridor villa house with wall and gate, detached bath-house renovated in the early fourth century, mosaics, painted plaster and hypocaust. At Chenies, 8km north, traces of a Roman building with a hypocaust, pottery sherds, roof tile and an infant burial were found, and at Chorley Wood 6.5 km north-west a building or farm Apart from these, Roman fragments are reported from Chalfont St Giles 3.5km north-north-west (Scott 1993, 25 – 28, 93). Evidence of kilns is reported locally, at 7.5km to the north-west and 5km to the south, and kilns dated to the second century at 4km south-west, 4km and 3km south. All are termed pottery kilns (NMR).

It appears that the poor clay-with flints topsoil was not suitable for agriculture, and in any case the land was wooded and not worth the trouble of clearing, but the clay and the timber were materials for pottery production. Occupation often occurred at the junction of two soil types, and here the clay-with-flints is continuous (Bird 1996, 217, 220). However, it is notable that coin hoards are reported, a small mid-second century hoard 2.5km north-west with a pot containing 40 silver and 12 copper coins dating AD54 – 161, a large hoard 2km west with four pots containing a total of 6682 coins, most of which were mid – late third century, and a further large hoard at Rickmansworth 5km north-north-west of 4358 coins all minted AD330 – 348 (NMR).

Verulamium lies about 22km to the north-east, and the road between here and Silchester (*Calleva*) (Margary 163) has been identified some 2.5km north-east of Chalfont, running in a north-north-easterly direction towards Verulamium. If this route is extended to the south, it crosses the Misbourne 750m to the south of Chalfont. A minor road running west fom London towards Oxford (no Margary number) passes 3km to the south.

The Late Roman Period:

The only evidence available dating to this period is the villa at High Wycombe where the bath-house was “embellished” during the fourth century, but

this dates to c325, and the coin hoard at Rickmansworth which cannot have been earlier than mid-fourth century. None of the kilns is dated later than second century.

The early Saxon Period:

Evidence for this period is even more sparse. A glass bead dated by the British Museum as Anglo-Saxon was found 250m west of the church at Chalfont St Peter, and a field-ditch dated as late Roman- early Anglo-Saxon was found at St Mary vicarage, Harefield, on the other side of the Colne (NMR). Apart from this no further evidence appears. Only the name Chalfont testifies to some early Anglo-Saxon presence. The early Saxon settlement at Harmondsworth is 13km downstream on the Colne. Thus there is little evidence for human settlement in this local area until well into the early medieval period.

Gazetteer for Chalfont:

SU870 920	Scott 1993, 28	High Wycombe R villa
SU940 980	Scott 1993, 27	Amersham R building
SU970 980	EHNMR-641375	R kiln
SU972 882	NMR_NATINV-251457	R kiln 2c
SU980 910	NMR_NATINV-1302811	late 3c hoard
SU980 940	Scott 1993, 26	Chalfont St G R frags
SU985 927	NMR_NATINV-282039	mid2c hoard
SU990 860	EHNMR-641371	R kiln
SU990 870	EHNMR641376	2c R kiln
SU992 875	NMR_NATINV-251475	late 2c R kiln
TQ001 909	OS 172	Chalfont St P church
TQ020 980	Scott 1993, 26	Chenies, R building
TQ026 950	NMR_NATINV-395271	Rickmansworth hoard
TQ040 960	Scott 1993, 93	Chorley Wood R bldg.
TQ050 900	EHNMR1183449	Harefield vicarage

Bedmond, Herts

The site at present and its earliest name:

Bedmond is a hamlet in the parish of Abbots Langley, lying on a minor road between Watford to the south and Hemel Hempstead to the north (Fig 49). The topsoil here is glacial gravel and springs are to be found on the southern edge of the village and 1km north-east over some high ground, the Wellfield spring.

Figure 49 Wellfield Spring, Bedmond.

The M25 passes about 1km south, the M1 about 2km east, their intersection lying about 2km south-east. Nevertheless the local area is rural and wooded. The river Ver and St Albans are some 5km north-east. The name is generally held to derive from OE *byden*, *beden* (trough) + **funta*, exactly paralleled by early forms of Bedfordwell, E Sussex and Bedfont, London Borough of Hounslow (see above under Bedfont).. It is believed that the name was influenced by nearby Beaumont, the –m- appearing in 1512 in *Bedmont, Bedmond, Bedmondeponde* (Gover et al 1938, 76; Watts 2004, 47). The earliest record of the name is Bedesunta 1331, then Bedfunte 1433. It would not be unusual for the original medial –f- to have disappeared by 1331, by comparison with, for example, Boarhunt, and it is probable then that the –f- persisted in popular speech, to be recorded later. Distances are here measured from the centre of the modern village.

General Background:

During the LPRIA the area now in modern north Herts was part of the territory of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes, and appears to have been occupied by people of some wealth: rich cremation graves have been excavated at Welwyn, Baldock and Folly Lane, St Alban's (Cunliffe 2005, 159 – 163). The Folly Lane

area has been extensively excavated, and one funerary site shows the remains of an elaborate ritual similar to sites in north-west France and Luxembourg, and wealthy deposits of imported Roman goods, body armour, cart fittings and shoes as were found on other local sites of similar date, but with details of the management of the site which are unique. The closest parallels are with the Lexden and Stanway sites at Colchester, but it is not established just which section of the community was entitled to such treatment (Niblett 1999, 394 – 8). Verulamium (St Alban's) lies near certain boundaries (see above) and Beech Bottom Dyke to the north-east of the town may also mark a territorial limit (Haselgrove and Millett 1997, 283). Tasciovanus (died cAD 10) issued coins from a mint at Verulamium, and the area here between the upper Lea and the Chilterns was densely occupied during the period. It is obvious that the leaders of society in this increasingly prestigious area, such as Tasciovanus, were not only wealthy but also powerful locally, and during the years spanning the end of the first century BC and the early first century AD they became increasingly Romanised in habit and outlook. It has been supposed that the name of modern St Alban's was prior to AD43 *Verlamion*, later Latinised to *Verulamium*, but it is now suggested that the form *Verlamio*, on a coin of Tasciovanus, was in fact an ablative of *Verulamium*, as the ablative was sometimes used in Latin as a form of locative, and that the hypothetical British *Verlamion* is incorrect. A similar etymology is suggested for Camulodunum. A Latin name for the emerging towns would show an even greater Roman influence (Williams 2007). In the late first century BC and early first century AD Verulamium began to emerge as the local focus of population, as Wheathampstead declined in importance, and the area may have formed part of an extensive client kingdom in south-east Britain (Fulford 2003); the rich burial at Folly Lane, Verulamium, dated to AD55 – 60, may have been that of a client king. The earliest known LPRIA settlement here was at Prae Wood, on the south bank of the Ver and about 4km north-east of Bedmond. Between AD30 – 55 the populated area shifted from Prae Wood to the valley floor of the Ver, about a further 1km from Bedmond. The whole of the area around Bedmond was strongly influenced by the development of the settlement on the Ver (Niblett 2006).

Following the arrival of the Roman troops in Britain in AD43, there appears to have been no Roman military presence at Verulamium. It may be that the élite group in the settlement was so pro-Roman that there was no need for a garrison, and the troops were able to advance to the north and west via the new road built nearby, now called Watling Street, with no hindrance; also the political tribal centre appears to have been to the east at Camulodunum, which needed to be overcome, and where military activity was targeted. It is also suggested that the settlement at Verulamium had been founded according to Roman principles of town foundation before AD43, since coins issued by Tasciovanus show symbols of Roman-style sacrifice and ritual enactment, including the *lituus* (curved staff) used in the properly regulated establishment of a Roman town (Creighton 2000, 204 – 215). The town soon developed along the usual Roman orthogonal pattern, and masonry buildings were probably erected soon after AD55. In the Boudiccan rebellion of AD60 – 61 the town was destroyed but soon rebuilt, and there is evidence here, as at Camulodunum, of the first wall-plaster, window-glass and roof-tiles of the Claudian period (Perring 2002, 32). Tacitus indicates that the town was a *municipium* in the first century AD (Bryant and Niblett 1997, 279).

The main road from Londinium to the north-west leaves Westminster and travels straight to Verulamium, an early road which is "Roman road construction at

its best", then goes on to join Fosse Way (Margary 1967, 55). There is a network of other roads and subsidiary ways throughout the area around Bedmond (ibid 193). The proximity of the élite settlement at Verulamium, plus good early communications and fertile soils already cultivated during the Iron Age, encouraged the establishment of villa estates, although the villas here do not compare with some other early villas in terms of grandeur: the villa at Gorhambury (below) is some 3km west of Verulamium and was developed from an Iron Age site, but though there are parallels with Fishbourne near Chichester, in terms of early development and later abandonment, the scale and opulence of Fishbourne were in no way paralleled at Gorhambury. This may indicate not only a difference in status between the residents of the two estates, but also a difference in importance in the two local areas in the early Roman period (Fulford 2003, 98). As on the Sussex coastal plain, the early prosperity of the villa estates near Verulamium was not maintained through the Roman period; there is a notable decline during the early third century, then rebuilding and a further decline during the fourth century, though this pattern is not repeated at all sites (Williamson 2000, 60 – 61). Villa estates nearer to Bedmond are discussed below. Verulamium continued to have a measure of importance through the Roman period and beyond, for St Germanus of Auxerre visited in AD428 – 9 and addressed a richly-dressed gathering of local people (ibid 70).

Thus Bedmond lay in an area of prosperity and high-status occupation from before AD43 until perhaps the third century, when there was apparently a decline, but Verulamium continued to be occupied and farming was still necessary to supply its population. There is no evidence of the large granary facilities developed in the later Roman period such as those in the Darent valley in Kent, nor of the expansion of the villa economy like that in the west.

The late Roman period:

In comparison with some other areas, this region did not flourish spectacularly in the later Roman period. Bedmond and its locality shared the fortunes of Verulamium. Communications remained good: Watling Street, approaching Verulamium, lies about 5km east of Bedmond, and the road from Verulamium to Staines (*Pontes, Pontibus*) is some 4km to the east. There are nearby, of course, remains of numerous Roman buildings of more or less grandeur, the furthest from Bedmond to the south-west being some 11km away at Moor Park, Rickmansworth, with pottery showing occupation until cAD200, then re-occupied in the fourth century, and 10km away to the south-west at Solesbridge Mill, Chorley Wood, where finds date the site to first to fifth centuries. South of here the soil becomes clay-with-flints, less useful for crops but useful for pasture and woodland. Some of the villas have not produced evidence from the later Roman period, which corresponds to the phases of decline and occasional revival noted above. The closest built site to Bedmond is 1.5km south-west at Abbots Langley, where cropmarks on a rectilinear grid suggest a Roman building, and a further 2km south-west where there is evidence of a Roman settlement dating to the second century. The sites mentioned here are a selection, not an exhaustive list (Scott 1993; NMR).

Two sites which have been carefully excavated and whose details are available are 6.5km north-west of Bedmond at Gadebridge Park, Hemel Hempstead, and 4km north at Gorhambury. At Gadebridge Park the earliest identifiable buildings were of timber and date to cAD75, and are associated with a bath-house.

The accommodation was gradually extended: in the Antonine period, late second to early third centuries, a new winged-corridor masonry building was constructed, with corridors all around and a new wing near the bath-house, and such capital expenditure continued into the fourth century, when mosaics were laid and a large open-air swimming-pool added. However, soon after AD353, coin evidence shows that all buildings except one were razed and the site appears to have been used for animal stockades, continuing possibly into the early fifth century, again on coin evidence dating to AD388 – 402. It is suggested that the long prosperity, followed by a sharp mid-fourth-century decline, may have been due to outside events, the villa owners finding their political allegiance suddenly having become disadvantageous (Neal 1974, 88 – 100; NMR). At Gorhambury, 1km north-west of the Iron Age settlement at Prae Wood, occupation began likewise during the Iron Age, and as at Gadebridge in the first century a timber building was erected, replaced by cAD100 by a small masonry villa with granary and bath-house and rebuilt during the late second century. From the beginning of the third century the site at Gorhambury saw little change, particularly to the villa fabric and, unlike Gadebridge, was not embellished or extended. As at other estate centres, Gorhambury probably continued with agricultural production, as stockades were erected over the outer yard and cattle rearing increased during the fourth century, and it appears that in the area once-rich country houses were falling into disrepair, but farming was continuing on the estate lands (Neal et al 1990, especially 95 – 6).

Thus two villa sites show early similarities but later differences. It is suggested by the excavators that the occupants' political fortunes were reflected in their lifestyles: the owners of Gorhambury could have removed to live in Verulamium, or been taxed heavily to provide for the defensive system in Verulamium in the late third century (ibid, 96).

A further site for which details are available is the supposed temple/mausoleum at Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead, 3.5km north-west of Bedmond, which also provides useful dating evidence. There is no direct evidence for dating the buildings, but artefacts and samian ware indicate first-century activity, perhaps at a native sacred spot which later provided a site for a Romano-British temple with possibly a mausoleum and which may have been associated with the villa at Gorhambury, 3km to the east. Relatively few votive deposits or coins have been recovered but the site is not yet totally excavated. This religious complex fell into disuse in the late second century, around the time of the abandonment of Gorhambury, when money and materials were supposedly needed for continuing building work in Verulamium. The site at Wood Lane End remained in use into the fourth century as an enclosure for cattle (Neal 1984).

A hoard of 67 folles was found 5km west of Bedmond at Scatterdells Wood, Chipperfield, the coins dated at the latest to AD306, so probably deposited during the early fourth century, further attesting to unrest or a period of instability in the area which is reflected in the varying fortunes of the villa estates (NMR).

In Verulamium itself it is quite difficult to say exactly what the situation was during the late Roman period. The excavation in the 1960's in Insula xxvii by Sheppard Frere appeared to show the late construction of a masonry building by the evidence of a mosaic which he dated to cAD400, later cut by the insertion of a drying oven and water pipe, which would indicate notable activity in the early fifth century (Frere 1983, 212 – 24), but a more recent examination of the evidence from this excavation sets the date of the mosaics earlier, perhaps to the third century, on grounds of style, and interprets the inserted drier rather as repairs to the hypocaust,

but the fifth-century date of the water pipe is not questioned here (Neal 2003). In contrast to some sites, refurbishment and rebuilding continued in the town during the fourth century, including those to most amenities, water supply, defence and the piazza, and at least one temple was still in use, but after AD400 the evidence is at present difficult to assess. Later buildings here, as at other sites such as Wroxeter, often had chalk footings on which were erected structures of clay and timber, with earth floors, and such materials and evidence are easily damaged by modern agricultural machinery, especially where the soil is shallow or has been eroded, and so have only a small chance of surviving in the archaeological record (Niblett 2001, 134). After cAD400 pottery use declined in favour of vessels of metal or wood, of course coinage of this date is absent and in Verulamium only small areas have been excavated (ibid 127 - 146). The Folly lane site continued in use perhaps until the early fourth century, but gradually the focus shifted across the river where the shrine of St Alban developed. The town continued along the roads to north and south, with evidence of chaff-tempered ware and post-built structures, and this ribbon development may have continued into the sixth or even seventh centuries (Niblett 1999, 417 – 9; 2001, 43).

The early Saxon period:

The evidence for early Germanic immigrants in this part of Hertfordshire is almost completely lacking, which may indicate a continuity of Romano-British population or a lack of population of any sort (Williamson 2000, 66 – 7). There is a strong argument for the continuing importance of Verulamium as a centre of population well into the post-Roman era, based on the continuation of the cult of St Alban, which led to the town taking his name and which is evidence for a continuing British population with a continuing British Christianity. There is also evidence from place-names of a British enclave in the Chilterns holding out against the English, probably until a treaty after the battle of Bedcanford listed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *sub anno* 571 (below). The lack of early Germanic archaeological evidence in the area suggests that it is at least highly likely that there was a surviving British population who had not yet adopted Germanic culture, and such areas are not so much cultural and developmental backwaters as rather areas where the indigenous lifestyle and practices continued, and what is often called invisibility in the archaeological record is more a symptom of a pro-Germanic attitude in the interpretation of what is or is not found (Baker 2006, 249).

The cult of St Alban is the only one, perhaps of many, to survive in Britain into the post-Roman era. There was a thriving British church, since continental textual sources tell of British bishops at the Councils of Arles (314) and Rimini (359), and the visits to Britain of Victricius of Rouen (396) and St Germanus of Auxerre (429). The visit of St Germanus of Auxerre in AD429 was prompted by the popularity in Britain of the Pelagian heresy, which indicates that here at least Christianity was flourishing as not only was there concern in Gaul over the prevalence of the heresy in Britain, but the British Christian community was large and important enough for St Germanus to make the journey to encourage it in a return to orthodoxy. According to Gildas, British bishops were ostentatious and rich. During the sixth century British migrants to Brittany took their Christianity with them, and it is notable that all this took place before 597 when St Augustine arrived in Kent (Sharpe 2002, 75 – 85). St Germanus visited Verulamium, where the cult of the martyred St Alban was still celebrated, and where Bede describes a

church of wondrous workmanship which had been built when peaceful Christian times had returned.

ecclesia est mirandi operis atque eius martyrio condigna extructa (EH 1.7)

This all indicates that there was a surviving Romano-British Christian population of some size in Verulamium in AD429. Bede also indicates that at the time he was writing, AD731, there were two names for the town, the old Roman name and a new Anglo-Saxon one:

Passus est autem beatus Albanus die decimo kalendarum iuliarum iuxta civitatem Uerolamium quae nunc gente Anglorum Uerlamacaestir sive Uaeclingacaestir appellatur (ibid).

If the later details of the town are unclear, even less is known of the hinterland. On present evidence it is possible to suggest a zone of some 16km radius around Verulamium in which estates declined in the late fourth century, presenting a picture of once rich and flourishing houses now abandoned but whose associated agricultural land still continued to be farmed by the local population (Neal et al 1990, 96; Niblett 2001,146), with no known evidence of an early Germanic presence. The main sources of evidence for a British survival in the Chiltern region are the relatively large number of pre-English place-names, including Chiltern and Icknield, and the lack of known pagan Saxon sites, which indicates that English settlement took place only after the conversion. However, the dating of place-name coining is fraught with difficulty and needs extreme caution: the use of pre-English loan-words in Old English cannot be taken as proof of date. In the Chiltern region the use of *croh*, saffron, may indicate late British survival (Davis 1982, 114), but Croydon, *croh+denu*, (Surrey) is in an area of known early settlement, and Ekwall (1960, 131) suggests that there was an OE *croh*, valley. However, the people living in the Chilterns were an identifiable group at the time of the Tribal Hidage, when the Chilternsætan were assessed at 4000 hides (Davis 1982). The best evidence so far for Anglo-Saxon settlement, or culture, is in Verulamium and dates from the very late sixth and early seventh centuries at a cemetery site at King Harry Lane, where Saxon inhumation burials were found together with Iron Age and Roman inhumations and cremations (NMR). It is suggested that these people were settlers coming from Essex, arriving possibly AD640 – 650 (Ager 1989, 227), but no details are given to support this presumed provenance and material culture at this time would not indicate a specific region. Bede's use of the name *Uaeclingaceastir*, the *castra* of the *Waeclingas*, indicates that this was the name of the Anglo-Saxon people here and of the area, and indeed the name of Watling Street also refers to this group of people.

It appears that there was little if any early Germanic penetration into the area around Bedmond. Verulamium continued as a functioning town, apparently with a surviving Romano-British population, some of whom may still have been quite wealthy and may have been the heirs of the villa estates, now abandoned, whose families took up residence in the town, and who still received an income from their estates. However, Anglo-Saxon settlement in this area appears not to have been early.

Gazetteer for Bedmond:

TQ040 960	Scott 1993, 93	Chorleywood, Solesbridge Mill
TL048 031	NMR_NATINV-359419	Chipperfield 4c hoard
TL050 086	Scott 1993, 94 NMR_NATINV-359278	Gadebridge Park villa
TL070 020	EHNMR-638419	Abbots Langley 2c R set.
TL080 070	EHNMR-638751	Wood Lane End temple
TQ080 930	Scott 1993, 95	Moor Park villa
TL087 027	NMR_NATINV-359346	Abbots Langley R bldg.
TL108 045	OS 182	Wellfield spring
TL099 039	OS 182	Bedmond centre
TL111 078	OS 172	Gorhambury villa
TL123 066	OS 182	Prae Wood
TL131 067	NMR_NATINV-361948	King Harry Lane cem.
TL135 075	OS 182	Verulamium
TL178 142	OS 182	Wheathampstead
TL235 160	OS 182	Welwyn

Cheshunt, Herts:

The site at present and its earliest name:

Figure 50 Cheshunt, church of St Mary the Virgin.

Cheshunt is now part of a built-up area lying along the west bank of the river Lea, which rises in the Chilterns, flows south and east to Ware, turning south again towards Cheshunt and London. South of Ware the buildings extend from Hoddesdon to Cheshunt, and further to the south along the river lies Enfield, some 5km from Cheshunt, then on to Edmonton, Tottenham, Stoke Newington, Hackney, Leyton and Canning Town where the Lea empties into the Thames. To the west of Cheshunt the area is less built and the land rises above the river valley; east across the river is Waltham Abbey (Essex) where the ground rises more sharply above the valley. The boundary with Enfield borough is about 2km south of Cheshunt. The river Lea forms an important landscape and administrative boundary, followed by road and rail communication systems. The M25 runs 2.5km south of Cheshunt, where the A10 from London crosses it at Junction 25, continuing north through Cheshunt.

The earliest record of the name of Cheshunt is in Domesday, *Cestrehunt(e)*, from *castra* + **funta*. No record is known where the initial f- of **funta* is preserved, nevertheless all authorities concur in assuming the presence of the element, comparing the name with Boarhunt, Tolleshunt and Chadshunt, in which there is ample evidence for the transition from –f- to –h- (Gover et al 1942, 220; Watts 2004, 130). There is no archaeological evidence of a *castra* as such, but this element could be used in the Old English place-name system for any remaining Roman walls, and since the course of Ermine Street runs just west of modern Cheshunt it is probable that there was Roman activity here, and indeed there is archaeological evidence to prove this. It has been suggested that there may have been some fortification of a settlement here (Williamson 2000, 73). The oldest part of Cheshunt is the Churchgate

area, where the fifteenth-century church of St Mary the Virgin is located (Figs 50, 51). To the east of the

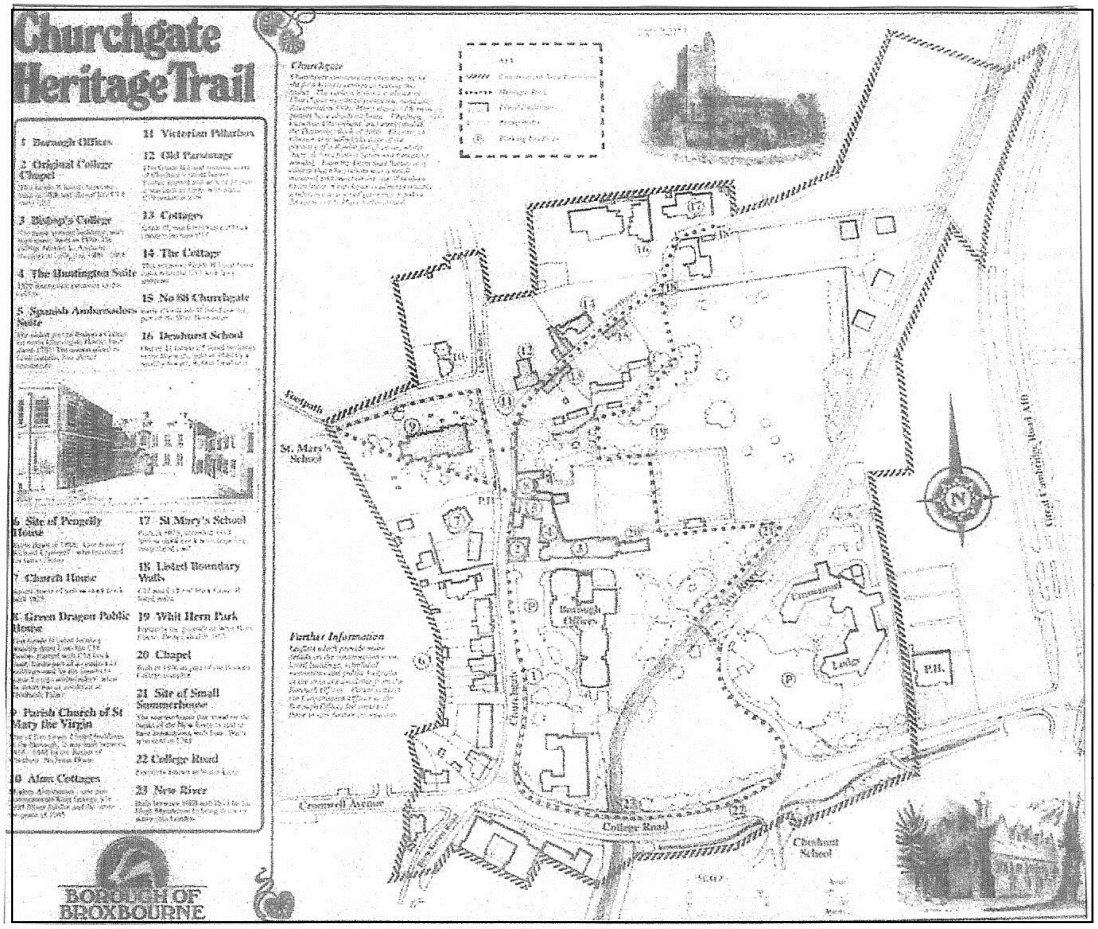


Figure 51 The Churchgate Heritage Trail.

church is a park which slopes gradually towards the valley of the Lea, and where it is obvious that a process of water management has taken place through the ages as the channelled New River testifies, some 250m from the church. The soil is noticeably wetter as one approaches New River, and it may be that in Roman times this was an area of streams and springs within 1km to the east of the Roman road and which may have been the **funta.* The traditional centre of Cheshunt is Old Pond, about 1km east of the church, now a busy roundabout surrounded by shops (local knowledge, Lowewood Museum, Hoddesdon). Distances will be measured from the church of St Mary in Churchgate (VCH Herts, 3).

General Background:

In the LPRIA Cheshunt lay in the territory of the Catuvellauni/Trinovantes, a large swathe of land stretching from Essex into Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire and to the north. By this time the tribes were indistinguishable according to coin evidence, and the area was heavily influenced by Roman ways. As the crow flies, the tribal capital Verulamium lies some 23km west of Cheshunt, with Camulodunum some 69km to the east-north-east, and even though the tribes are indistinguishable in the LPRIA, it may be that before this time the Lea formed a boundary marker between the two: no archaeological evidence is available to support this theory, but it is not inconceivable that at an earlier date the territories were distinct, otherwise there would be no reason for the two tribal names. The Lea seems to be an obvious traditional, long-lasting boundary zone: a later diocesan boundary lies just west of the valley (Williamson 2000, 81 – 3).

Ermine Street (Margary 2) also follows the Lea valley, but on higher ground. It was constructed soon after AD43 as the main route from Londinium to Lincoln and York, its initial route within the city still unclear, though probably beginning at the bridge and leaving the city at Bishopsgate, from where the route may be traced northwards. It is unlikely that the road followed any previous trackway, as when it emerges from the city it is aligned along high ground to the west of the Lea valley and can be traced almost entirely to its crossing of the Lea at Ware, going on then to join the road network (Margary 1967). However, on the more difficult ground north of Enfield a route nearer the river was later preferred, the present High Road through Cheshunt, and by 1086 a trading community of ten merchants lay along this route (ibid, 194 – 7; VCH Herts 3).

Along the course of Ermine Street there have been many finds which date to the Roman period. Just west of Cheshunt, Roman material has been revealed, including roofing tiles, suggesting a building with walls which may have been called a *castra* by the Anglo-Saxons (see below). Enfield was established as an early roadside settlement, possibly a posting station, 15km north of Londinium, and excavation here has produced Roman material dating from the first century, with occupation more or less continuous through the Roman period (Thompson et al 1998, 57, ELR76; Perring 2000, 150). Along Ermine Street at Cheshunt Park Farm the site excavated in the 1950's revealed

an oven, roofing tiles, pink and white wall-plaster and potsherds dating to the late second century and the fourth century, and at Enfield occupation, which began in the late first century, continued to the fourth (Finch Smith 1987, 177). Excavation at Lincoln Road, Enfield during the 1970's showed that a large Romano-British ditched enclosure, overlying pre-Roman activity and situated to the west of Ermine Street, may have had military origins. The site continued in use throughout the Roman period, though with some indication of a decline in activity between AD150 and 250, in common with other roadside settlements in the north London area. A roadway linked the settlement to Ermine Street, metalled during the second century and patched and repaired throughout the Roman period. At this site in the first and early second centuries there were huts and ditches, with contemporary pottery, an iron knife blade, an almost whole amber glass decanter and cremation burials accompanied by a complete calf skeleton which is dated to the late second or early third century. After the period of decline, activity picked up in the mid-third century with the construction of industrial tanks, a well, a banjo-shaped oven/drier and clay-quarrying pits, one of which cut into the earlier cremation site. Then into the fourth century an open hearth was built, two clay ovens with fourth-century pottery and organic matter were found, with roof and flue tiles indicating a building but with no evidence of walls, which may therefore have been of timber. So far there is no evidence of building associated with the industrial activity. Among other finds are Alice Holt and Oxford ware and a large grey jar containing more than 300 bronze coins, possibly lost savings rather than a hoard, and dated no earlier than AD334 (Gentry et al 1977). Coin hoards were found dating to the third and fourth centuries at Enfield and between Cheshunt and Enfield (NMR; Sheldon and Schaaf 1978, 65, 85).

The nearest site to Cheshunt which could be called a villa is as far away as Leyton, 17km downstream on the Lea, where excavation has produced brick and other material indicating a substantial building, and more recent work has produced pottery, coin and agricultural features of fourth-century date (Scott 1993, 79). As is usual further out in the London area, no villa estates are recorded near Cheshunt: the land is unsuitable, and the area may have been under civil management (Sheldon and Schaaf 1978, 47; Perring 1991, 47; Bird 2000, 157; Perring 2000, 152). North along Ermine Street, 2 or 3 km away from Cheshunt, there is evidence of Roman settlement with some tile indicating a building, and downriver at Innova Park about 4.5km south is evidence of Roman activity shown by ditches, with evidence also from Bronze and Iron Ages. In 1885 a Roman pig of lead was found (NMR), and metalworking may have taken place in the valley, as an early Roman hoard of iron tools, mainly for use in smithing, was found in 1967 3.5km south-east near the river, which has the features of a votive deposit as some of the tools had been ritually bent (Merrifield 1987, 29 – 31). Unfortunately most Roman sites excavated along the valley have yielded little dating evidence more exact than a general term "Roman".

The Late Roman Period:

Occupation continued in this part of the Lea valley throughout Roman times, and at Enfield the settlement, which began in the late first century, continued to the fourth (Finch Smith 1987, 177). The excavators suggest that

the large site at Lincoln Road, Enfield may have continued into the sub-or post-Roman period, as some late features ignore the previous alignments and the road line. Animal bones recovered show that butchery, largely of cattle and sheep, took place here, and at least some of the meat was consumed on site, and a Roman military-style bronze buckle dated to AD380 – 410 was found (Gentry et al 1977; Ivens and Deal 1977; Bird 1996, 224; 2000, 161 – 2). Fourth-century occupation is seen at Waltham Abbey, 5.5km south-east across the river, near the site of the seventh-century abbey, but at the moment it is not possible to say how dense the occupation was in the fourth century here or along the west bank of the Lea, around Cheshunt and Enfield.

It seems that this stretch of Ermine Street was in use throughout the period of Roman occupation, and that there was also settlement on the other side of the river at Waltham Abbey. However on present evidence it appears that it was a continuation of previous occupation, with no activity which may be specifically dated to the late fourth or early fifth century. Since Ermine Street was the main route from Londinium to the north, it is unlikely that traffic would have ceased totally while Roman rule held.

The Early Saxon Period:

No fifth-century material is known locally. The earliest evidence includes an early Anglo-Saxon settlement with two sunken-featured buildings excavated at Enfield, dated to the late sixth or early seventh century (Cowie 2000, 179 – 80, 202; Britannia xxii, 2001, 367). Across the river at Nazeing a cemetery dated to the seventh to ninth centuries and a church were found, and at Waltham Abbey a mid-Saxon settlement associated with the abbey (NMR).

Thus there is evidence for settlement and occupation near and at Cheshunt through the Roman period, probably associated with the roadside settlement at Enfield some 5km to the south, and probably continuing as a sub-Roman site. It seems that this was a group of working people, servicing the needs of passing traffic. There is no sign of an early Anglo-Saxon presence, but when such people arrived eventually, either there were still sub-Roman occupants who were using a derivative of *fontāna*, to be taken and used in Old English as **funta*, or the element had begun to be used in the Old English naming process.

Gazetteer for Cheshunt:

TQ330 958	Gentry et al 1977	Lincoln Rd R excavations
TQ342 973	"	"
TL345 044	EHNMR-638545	Cheshunt Park Farm
TL349 025	OS 174	Church of St Mary, Churchgate
TL346 054	NMR_NATINV-367263	Ermine St R settlement
TQ340 97	OS 174	Enfield
TL350 010	NMR_NATINV-367354	4c hoard
TL353 142	OS 174	Ware
TQ355 994	Cowie 2000 202	Enfield S set. 2 sfb
TL359 022	OS 174	Cheshunt, Old Pond
TQ369 989	EHNMR-1358464	Enfield RB ditch, 2 S pits
TQ360 990	EHNMR-1362912	BA, IA, R, S set Innova Park
TL378 002	NMR_NATINV-367358	eR iron hoard
TQ370 860	Scott 1993, 79	Leyton R bldg
TL 381 007	NMR_NATINV-367399	Waltham Abbey mid-S set
TL 385 065	NMR_NATINV-367209	Nazeing

Conclusion:

The four **funta* sites which have been considered here appear to be linked by their general proximity to London. However, the detailed examination of Roman and early Saxon evidence in the locality of each site reveals a considerable disparity amongst them during these periods, which suggests that there are other factors to take into account when attempting to isolate the significant features which led a place to be called a **funta*. After listing the negative evidence, it is necessary to look further into the past than AD43, perhaps even beyond the LPRIA, taking into account topology and geology, power relationships and political structures, and later communications and land tenure systems.

The disparate nature of the sites is shown in varied ways. Only Bedmond now has a spring. Three are near rivers: Bedfont on flat gravel land near the Thames, Chalfont near the Colne but on the far side of high ground, Cheshunt in the valley of the Lea and Bedmond near no significant river. Bedfont and Bedmond are on gravel, Cheshunt is on a gravel river terrace and Chalfont on clay-with-flints over the chalk which gives it its name. In the Roman era Bedmond lay in an area of villa estate development close to the élite urban settlement of Verulamium, Chalfont lay in an area with pottery kilns which fell into disuse by the third century, Cheshunt was a straggle of varied roadside settlement and Bedfont was in an area of intense agricultural production on traditional lines. All sites are near roads but none is known to be a roadside settlement: Bedfont is close to the London-Silchester road, between settlements at Brentford and Staines, Cheshunt is on Ermine Street near the settlement at Enfield and Bedmond and Chalfont are near the roads converging on Verulamium. Considering the network of major and minor roads and tracks in the south-east in Roman Britain, proximity to a route of some sort was the norm. None of the sites is especially noted for ritual activity, which probably took place in the larger settlements nearby. There are temples near Bedmond and Bedfont, but Wood Lane temple near Bedmond faded during the third century AD and the middle Iron Age temple at Heathrow near Bedfont had fallen out of use by the LPRIA.

A search for fifth-century, or early Anglo-Saxon presence, shows that it is notable by its absence apart from the settlement at Harmondsworth fairly near Bedfont. No site was inaccessible to the Saxons, and in fact the river system would have provided easy access.

So far, then, there is no common factor shared by all sites, except the element **funta,* a Latin word, used by the Romano-British and later adapted into the Old English phonological system.

It is necessary now to consider the situation in south-east Britain well before the Claudian invasion in AD43. The political situation appears to have been fluid in the previous 100 years, with inter-tribal disputes and shifting power relations. Rome became interested in, and was gradually drawn into British affairs, Caesar arrived in 55 – 54 BC, and cultural affinities between south-east Britain and Belgic Gaul became closer and more intense after the Gallic wars. Coinage had already become known in this part of Britain, at first with imported material, influenced by Greek and Roman styles, then with imitative insular issues. Coin use was probably not for a market economy, but more perhaps to signify influence and status. Rome was prestigious in near

Europe, and those British who wanted power and prestige allied themselves with Rome in custom and attitude.

By the LPRIA the former tribal units were changing in power and allegiance. Kent, powerful because of its proximity to Gaul, was losing influence and Essex was becoming more important as Colchester attracted trade from the near continent and adopted more and more of Roman customs and attitudes. The evidence of coinage demonstrates that the coins minted at Camulodunum were acceptable in the area around Verulamium, Cunobelinus at Camulodunum claiming descent from Tasciovanus at Verulamium. It appears that by the early years of the first century AD Camulodunum was politically in the ascendant, acting as tribal capital not only for the *Trinovantes* but also for the *Catuvellauni* whose focal territory was now shifting from the earlier sites at Baldock, Braughing, Welwyn and Wheathampstead to the area near Verulamium, and the two groups of people became culturally indistinct in the archaeological record.

However, before this time the two groups had indeed been distinct and at times in conflict. High status burials indicating a leading group were found at settlements in the northern part of Catuvellaunian territory and in fact in the earlier first century BC Verulamium was on the edge of coin distribution and only developed much later than the northern Catuvellaunian sites, as activity, settlement and trading patterns altered. There are strong arguments for interpreting Verulamium as a ritual and religious complex, possibly beginning as a meeting place on the boundary of several territories, and comparable to ritual complexes in northern Gaul. These arguments are based on excavation which shows a zoning of activities, significant clusters of Iron Age coin and the spatial arrangement of the temple, together with the visibility of local landscape features and the marshy river valley. It is also suggested that Beech Bottom Dyke, hitherto thought to be a territorial boundary marker, was in fact constructed as a routeway to the ritual site at Verulamium from the settlements to the north-east (Bryant 2007, 69 – 72). This earthwork is similar to Devil's Dyke near the formerly important site at Wheathampstead (Figs 52, 53). If Verulamium was on the southern edge of an early territory it is likely in topographical terms that this territory was bounded by rivers: near Verulamium the Ver joins the Colne which then flows south to join the Thames at Staines. Verulamium lies just south of the upper Lea which then flows east and south to join the Thames at Canning Town. Between the Colne and the Lea lies the area which largely consists of heavy London clay, interspersed with small pockets of gravel, an undesirable area of land for early farmers (Fig 54). Even though the territory of the Catauvellauni is shown on maps as extending as far as the Thames (Cunliffe 1973; Millett 1990) it is readily admitted that the extent of tribal areas is at best unclear, and this unappealing area of heavy London clay may have been under no specific tribal control as it was of no value or significance. The early boundary between the Trinovantes and the Catuvellauni is also difficult to determine and may have fluctuated greatly before the tribal conflicts lessened, with a liminal area of disputed territory between them, and it is likely that the southern part of the boundary lay along the Lea valley (Dunnett 1975, 10, 29). Rivers may provide a liminal zone rather than a boundary line, especially when groups of people are settled at some distance from each other

The boundary zone offered by the valleys of the Lea and the Colne is where all four of these **funta* sites lie. If these four sites are seen as lying on the edge of a pre-Roman territorial unit, then any reference to London is irrelevant, and, more importantly, anachronistic: it needs a shift of perspective to overcome a millennium of the dominance of London in the history of this country and to omit it from any map of Britain in the years preceding AD43. In this way the distance of each **funta* site from London is meaningless, but its territorial position may be quite meaningful (Fig 54). If Catuvellaunian territory did not include the north London basin, theories which suggest state or civil control of this area during the Roman period are strengthened, and the establishment of the road system based on London, with roadside settlements at regular intervals, is understandable on this as well as on other grounds. The London area was bounded to the east, north and west, and in Kent, by pro-Roman powers.

There is strong evidence for a continuing sub-Roman population in the Chiltern area, a distinct group which survived well into the early medieval period. A notable number of place-names in the Chiltern region incorporate pre-Roman elements (Davis 1982, 111 – 115), including some tautological compounds which indicate the incomprehension by one group of people of landscape terms of another, but a willingness to use such terms. The dating of place-name coining is fraught with difficulty and, as has been noted, the use of pre-English elements in Old English cannot be taken as proof of date. Thus in the Chiltern area the use of *croh,* saffron (Crafton, Bucks, Crendon Lane, Bucks) may indicate British survival, but Croydon, Surrey (*croh + denu*) is in an area of known early settlement. The number of these elements in the Chilterns indicates British survival but not the date of its cultural eclipse. Bede's use of alternative place-names illustrates a changing linguistic landscape; for example he gives two names for the previous Verulamium as *Uerlamacæstir* and *Uæclingacæstir* (EH1.7). The second element in each is from Latin *castra,* widespread in Old English place-names, but the first element is, in the first instance, from the Latin name, and in the second instance from the new Anglo-Saxon name for the area, a usual formation. It would appear that when Bede received his information in the early eighth century both names were known, if not in current usage, which indicates that the pre-Old English name was not yet totally obsolete. Bede, always precise, gives other alternative names with the formula "(*quæ lingua Anglorum .... vocatur*". (Baker 2006, 247).

Further indication for the continuity of a sub-Roman British population of some size is to be deduced from negative evidence. The early Anglo-Saxon archaeological evidence is distinctly in the north and west of the Chiltern area, on the scarp side, and only in the late sixth or seventh century does evidence of a Germanic culture appear in the dip slope area where the **funta* sites lie (Fig 55). Given that there was demonstrably a substantial late Roman population near all these **funta* sites except Chalfont, it is likely that at least some of these people survived into the fifth century, and this is shown at Verulamium, and since there is no sign of Germanic culture, it is to be assumed that these people were British and left no trace in the archaeological record, as usual. The Cilternsæte may have been a British group, listed in the Tribal Hidage of possibly late seventh-century date, still identifiable though under the overlordship of Mercia (Davis 1982, 121).

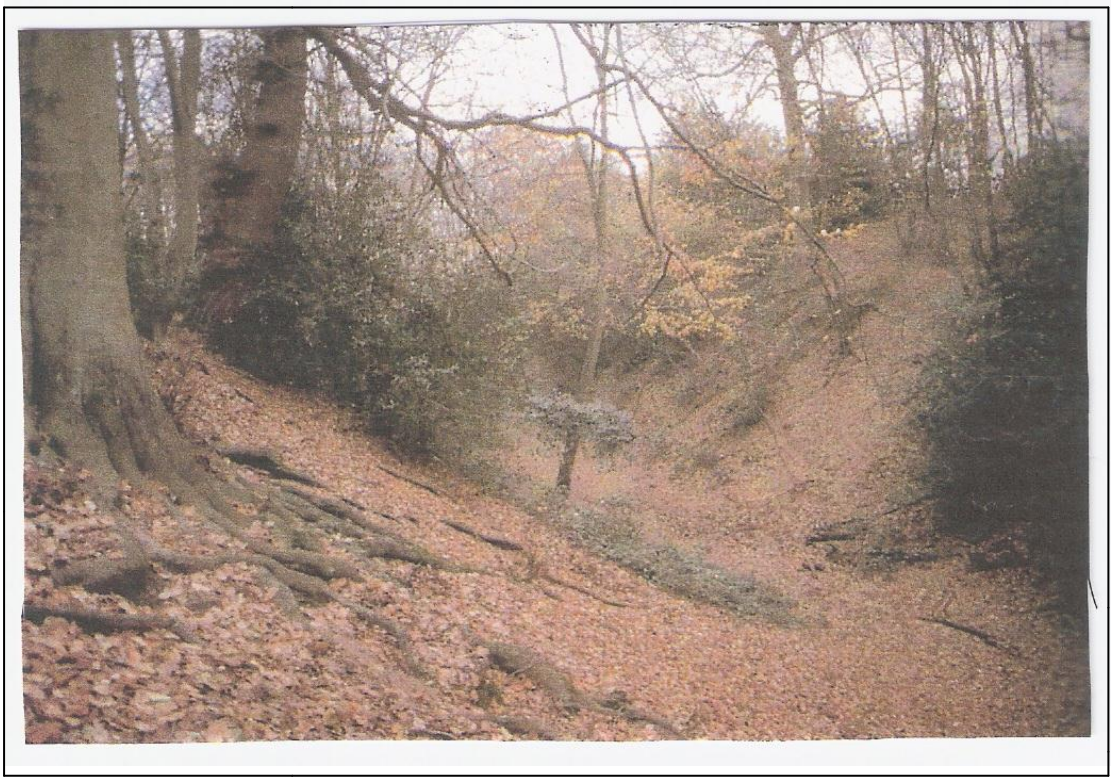
The continuation of Celtic Christianity at Verulamium is another indication of the survival of a native group (see above under Bedmond). Bede would have claimed the site for Rome if at all possible. It may be that British Christianity had been widespread and continued in the area, as *monasteria* are known at Braughing and Welwyn in the tenth century and Abingdon appears to be a seventh-century re-foundation of an earlier site (Davis 1982, 118 – 120). There appear to have been many more such British church cults which survived into the early medieval period, in other parts of Britain, as well as in Ireland and on the Continent. This would support the notion of a more widespread survival of the indigenous population than may at first seem to be the case (Sharpe 2002).

The location of the **funta* sites appears to mark a territorial boundary, but if this is a boundary of the British to the north and west, there is little sign that to the south and east there was a reciprocal need in early Anglo-Saxon time for a boundary for newly-settled territory (Fig 54). Place-names show the same situation, with pre-Old English names in the Chiltern area (though so far no identified names to pinpoint the difference between Brittonic or Primitive Welsh *font* and Old English **funta*). Thus the boundary between the Chilterns and the London basin is not quite the same as the political and linguistic boundary which is so clear-cut in Wiltshire.

In conclusion, there is nothing to connect the four **funta* sites with fifth-century Saxon settlement, which is largely missing, or with the type of soil and land usage in Roman times, which were varied. Only when notions of pre-Roman tribal areas are considered, with rivers as boundary zones rather than lines, does any connection between the sites emerge, and there is evidence that this tribal entity continued well into the Saxon era and that Verulamium continued to be an important site, in an area where the arrival of Saxon culture was as late, possibly, as the seventh century. The **funta* sites continued to hold their place between territories. By comparing this evidence with that from sites elsewhere, it may be possible to isolate a significance for the element **funta*, and a reason for these sites continuing to have special interest into medieval times.

Figure 52 Beech Bottom Dyke, St Albans.

Figure 53 Devil's Dyke, Wheathampstead.



Both these photographs are from Niblett (2001), taken by Charles Dobson.

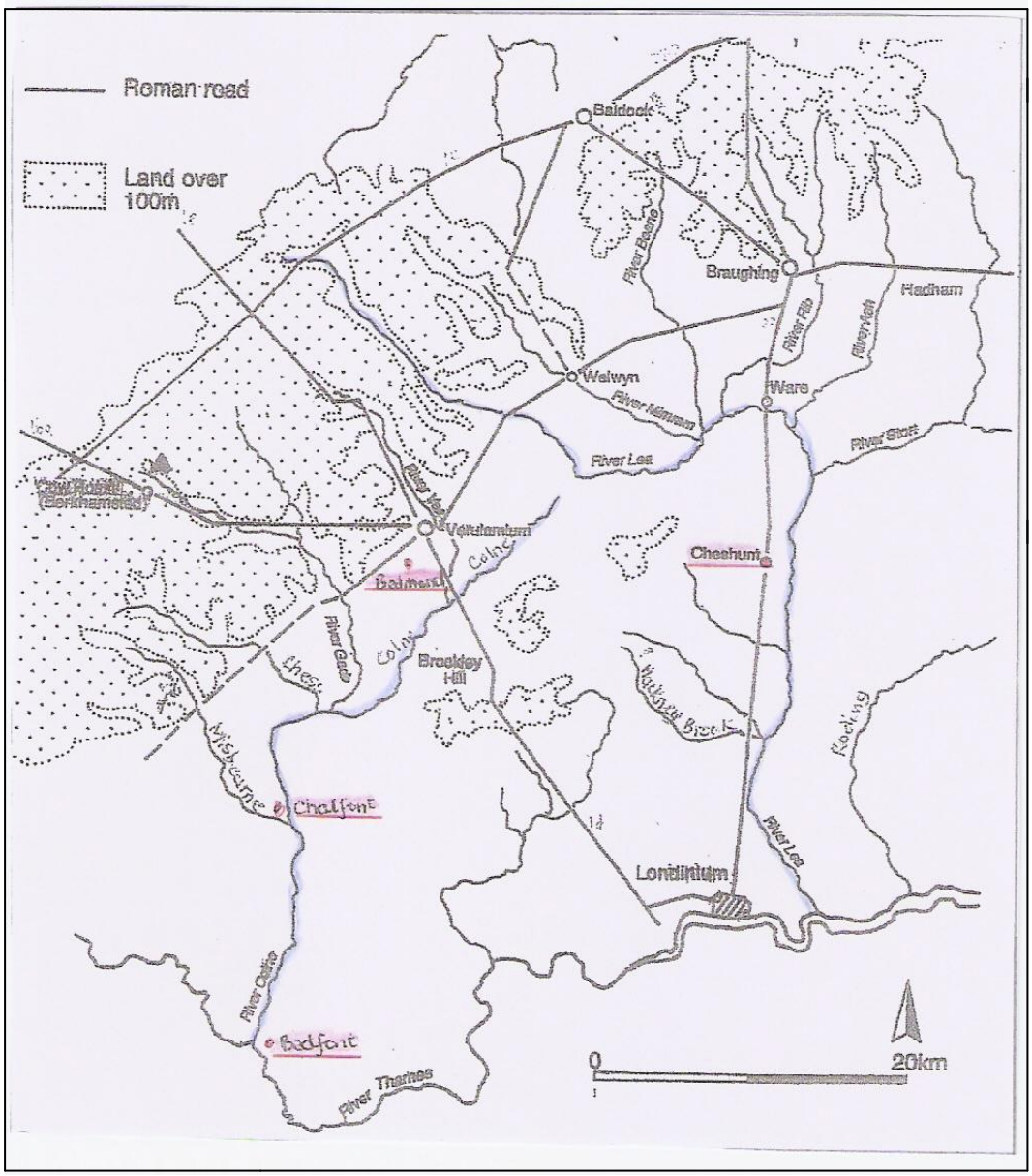


Figure 54 Verulamium and its setting.

Taken from Niblett (2006) and adapted to show the zone offered by the valleys of the Colne and the Lea as a boundary of the territories of the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes with the area which later became the London Basin.

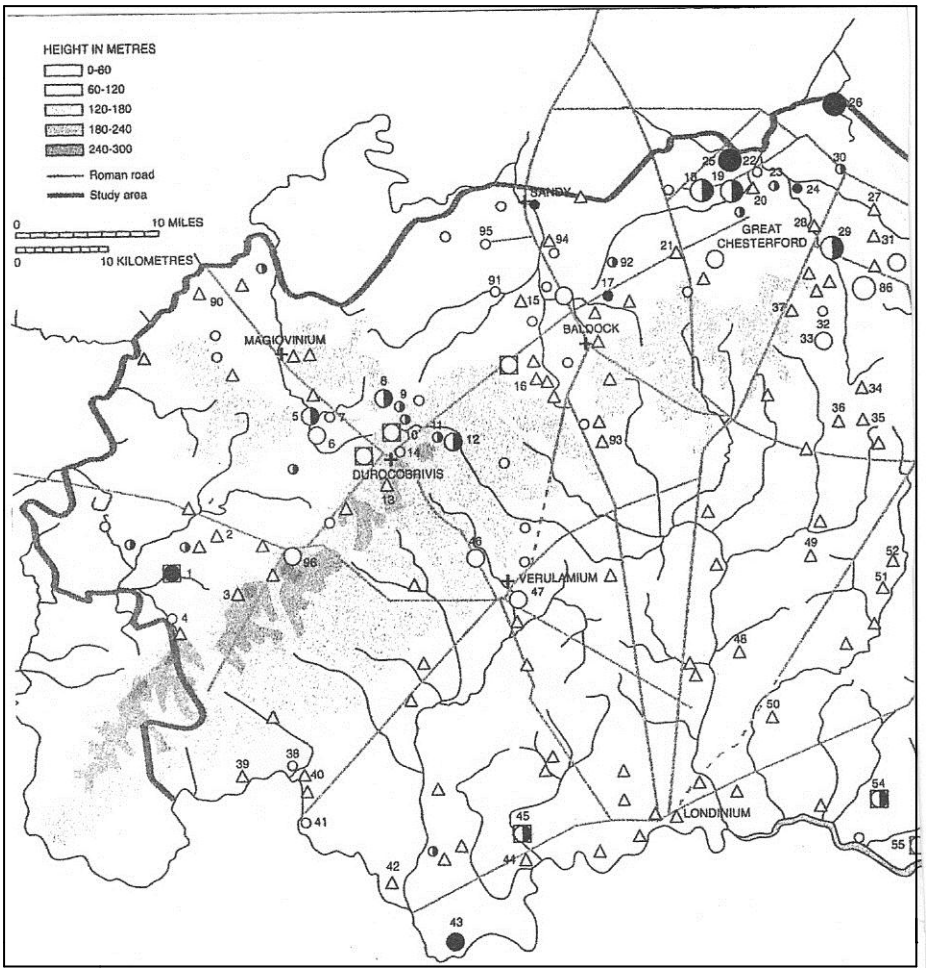


Figure 55 early Anglo-Saxon remains in the Chilterns.

Adapted from Baker (2006, 100 fig 3).

Appendix 2 Additional material.

Some common elements used in Chapter 3.

The categories of elements in names in this survey.

The categories used are Ancient, Brittonic and Latin. These categories are based on those in the gazetteer compiled by Coates (Coates and Breeze 2000, 264 – 9), where great precision is used to define terms and differentiate between derivations. Some of the terms used in Professor Coates's gazetteer are not included here as they are very complicated and in fact not necessary for the present study. Only elements which are necessary for present purposes are included here, and river-names are not included. There is one Old English element which must be considered, *w(e)alh,* a term used by speakers of Old English to designate a settlement of British folk. Elements are given initially in their usual OE form and all would have been mediated through Brittonic to reach Old English. A list of references from which information has been gathered is then appended for each element. An asterisk is used in the usual way to indicate the nominative or main form of a word which has been deduced by linguists from oblique or derived forms, an example being, of course, **funta.*

Ancient

This category includes names and elements whose base appears to be Old European, which itself may include more than one language derived from Indo-European. This language (or languages) had a lexicon and morphology distinct from those of the Celtic tongues, and forms the base of only a few names; also into this category are placed names which cannot be otherwise explained. River names often fall into this category, a phenomenon which becomes more apparent from east to west across England (Jackson 1953, 220; Kitson 1996) and is replicated in Europe where there are names which appear identical to some English river names.

Ancient elements appearing in this study:

OE ****cilt, *cilta* < ****ciltā*
Coates 1983-4, 7 – 15; Watts 2004, 133.
Pre-British element, mediated via Brittonic.
Known in 14 instances in southern England in areas of Saxon settlement.
A topographical element indicating a steep hill, though probably understood by the Saxons as a name to which they then attached a further element as generic.

OE ****cunec, *conec* **< ***cunāco, cuno* + *āco***
Coates 1983-4, 15 - 18; Gover et al 1939, 312 – 3.
"High (ground), hill".

OE *venta* < **uentā*
Jackson 1953, 80; Rivet and Smith 1979, 262 – 5; Coates 1983-4, 1 – 7, 22 n2; Kitson 1996, 80.
The derivation of this element has been discussed at length by the authorities quoted but without any clear or satisfactory outcome. The change in the stressed vowel (for example in Winchester) makes its phonological development equally open to discussion, inviting various suggestions. However, it is generally agreed that it is an element of pre-British provenance adopted into use by the Romans and continued into OE. It is known as a place-name element only in Britain, and five instances are known in Roman Britain, of which two, *Bannaventa* and *Glannoventa*, have securely British qualifying elements (**banno, *banna,* a peak or spur of land, a horn, and **glanno,* a bank or shore) while the other three are accompanied by the genitive plural of a tribal name, *Icenorum* (Caister-by-Norwich), *Silurum* (Caerwent) and *Belgarum*, (Winchester). The significance of the element appears to be that of a special dominant place, perhaps a market or meeting place, and used by the Romans as the name of a tribal capital.

Brittonic

The British Celtic language was spoken in Britain in the late Iron Age and into the Roman period, continuing as the indigenous language although Latin would have been used as the official language of the Empire. The linguistic situation in Britain after the withdrawal of Roman authority would have been mixed, and has been the subject of repeated and lengthy discussion (for example Jackson 1953; Coates 2007a and b; Schrijver 2007; Tristram 2007). By the time of the fifth-century Anglo-Saxon settlements the insular language is usually referred to as Brittonic, though Gelling prefers the term Primitive Welsh (Gelling eg 1993). Coates uses Brittonic as a term which also includes true British Celtic, its immediate predecessor, and also British-accented Latin, as well as the divergent strands which developed into Cornish, Welsh and Cumbric, although these last may be ignored for present purposes. Where a Brittonic form is reconstructed from Latin, it is called Romano-British.

Brittonic elements appearing in this study:

OE *ard* < **arð*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 347
"high". Cognate with MIr *ard.*

OE *brick* < **brīg, *brigā*
Smith 1956, 1, 50; Coates and Breeze 2000,347; Parsons and Styles 2000, 30.
"point, summit".

OE *bryn* <* *brïnn*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 348

“hill”.

OE *carr, chark* < **carreg,* creig*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 348, 350
“rock”, related to a similar element in MIr. (Parsons and Styles 2000, 143).

OE ***cadeir* < **cadeir***
Smith 1956, 1, 75; Parsons and Styles 2004, 37; Coates and Breeze 2000, 348.
“chair”, “piece of high ground”.

OE *camm* < **cemeis*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 348;
“bend”. Plural derived from *camb*>*camm*, derived noun *cambas*>*camas*, but see Parsons and Styles 2000, 134 for difficulties in confusion with OE *camb*, a crest.

OE *chid, chett, chute* <* *cēd*
Gelling and Cole 2000, 223.
“wood”.

OE ***cheven* < **cebno, *cemno*** < ***ceßn***
Smith 1956, 1, 87; Coates and Breeze 2000, 348
“ridge”.

OE *chever* < **cöμar*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 349
“joint tillage, society”.

OE *cnocc* < **cnuc* < **cunāco*
Smith 1956, 1, 120; Coates and Breeze 2000, 347.
“hillock”. This derivation is unsure as cognates and relations are not clear, cf MIr *cnocc*. A Germanic source is possible.

OE *creech* < **crüg*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 350; Gelling and Cole 2000, 159 – 63.
“mound, tumulus, hillock”. The usual use of the element in OE is to describe a hill with an abrupt outline (Gelling and Cole 2000, 160 for illustration).

OE ***crick* < *creig, *cracjo***
Smith 1956, 1, 112; Coates and Breeze 2000, 350.
“rock, cliff”.

OE ***crow* < **crou***
Smith 1956, 1, 113; Coates and Breeze 2000, 350.
“nook”.

OE *dever, dover* < **dußr* pl **dïßr*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 350
“water”, used in river names.

OE *dún <*dūnon*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 350.
"hill". In MIr and Gaelic *dun* = "fort".

OE *–ial <* -jal,* -jāl*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 352.
A place-name-forming suffix, or perhaps "a fertile upland".

OE ***lim(p) < *limen***
Coates and Breeze 2000, 352.
"elm".

OE ***liss < *lis***
Smith 2, 25; Coates and Breeze 2000, 353.
"court".

OE *mell <* mailo,* mēl*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 353; Parsons and Styles 2000, 30.
"bald, smooth-topped, bare" (hill).

OE *mycen < *mïgn*
Coates and Breeze 2000,353
"swamp".

OE ***–ol, -al < *(j)al, *(j)al***
Smith 1956, 1, 279; Coates and Breeze 200, 352.
An adjective-forming suffix, but may be confused with Britt **ialo,* "fertile upland".

OE ***pen(n) < penn***
Smith 1956, 2, 61; Coates and Breeze 2000, 354.
"hill".

OE *pert <* perθ*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 354.
"bush"
.
OE *pres <* prēs*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 354
"brushwood".

OE ***ric < *ricc***
Smith 1956, 2, 83; Coates and Breeze 2000, 355.
"groove, narrow strip".

OE ***rid, head < *rīd***
Smith 1956, 2, 83; Coates and Breeze 2000, 355.
"ford, place for riding across".

OE ***rod* < **rod, *rodu***
Smith 1956, 2, 86 – 7; Coates and Breeze 2000, 355.
"wheel".

OE *toll <* tull*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 356; Watts 2004 621.
"hole".

OE *win* < **wïnn*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 356
"white or bright, fair, blessed".

Latin

It is assumed by Coates that any pre-English Latin name or word adopted into OE by the Anglo-Saxons would have been mediated through Brittonic (Coates and Breeze 2000, 268) though Jackson, following Ekwall, suggests there could have been direct borrowings from British Latin into OE (Jackson 1953, 252) and Gelling posits a situation in West Sussex where Latin names could have been taken directly into OE (Gelling 1988, 83). However Wollmann (1993, 20) insists there are no definite instances. Brittonic mediation and sound changes in the sixth century are discussed by Jackson (1953, 273). All place-names have obviously been borrowed at some time into the Old English naming system, and subject to the regular phonological changes of Old English subsequent to the date of borrowing.

Latin elements appearing in this study:

OE *camp, comp* < *campus*
Gelling 1977, 5 – 8; 1978, 74 – 6.
"outlying field".

OE *ceaster, cæster* < *castra*
Smith 1956, 85 – 7;Gelling 1978, 150 – 3; Rivet and Smith 1979, xvii; Parsons and Styles 2000, 158 – 162.
"camp or fortified place".
Used as a simplex or as first or second element. In Classical Latin the word is almost always plural, but from the fifth century the singular form *castrum* is found, with a significance approximating to *vīcus* (qv). The diminutive form *castellum* was also used, again with a similar significance to *vīcus.* The term *castra* was used by the Anglo-Saxons originally to denote a place where there were Roman walls still standing around a town when they arrived in the area, though the term appears to have been later extended to denote any place where Roman stonework was still to be seen. It was formerly believed to be an insular loan-word (Jackson 1953, 252), but *castra* is now known to have been used as a naming element in the area of present-day Belgium, just to the north and south of the present linguistic border between Germanic and Romance, where six names have been identified (Gamillscheg 1970, 166 – 7).

These names are, from west to east, Caëstre near Cassel, Caster *bei* Avelghem, Castre *zw* Grammont *u*. Hal, Chastre-Dame-Alerne, Chastre-Le-Bole (Corroy –le-Grand) and Caster *bei* Maastricht. Of these, all are in present-day Belgium except Caëstre which is in the Pas-de-Calais *département* of France, and Caster near Maastricht which is in the Netherlands, interesting also because the second element of Maastricht is from Latin *traiectus*, a ferry.The Romans were obliged to create a land border here, fortified by *castra*, after being pushed back from the river (the Lower Rhine?) (Müller and Frings 1968, 167 – 8). South of the present linguistic border there are two instances where initial c- before –a- was palatalised as it remains in Modern French, and to the north of this border there are four instances where the initial c- remains in its velar form. In England such palatalisation of the initial c- in *castra*-derived elements can indicate a north-south divide or dialect difference (gaz 230), thus giving the elements *chester* or *caster, castor, caister.*

OE *croh, adj *crogen* < *crocus*
Gelling 1978, 80 – 2; Watts 2004, 173.
"crocus, saffron".

OE *eccles* < *ecclesia*
Jackson 1953, 227, 412; Smith 1956, 145; Cameron 1968; Gelling 1977, 11 – 12; 1978, 97 – 9; Thomas 1980, 157 – 8.
"church", probably British with an enclosure.

OE **feorol, firle* < *Britt *ferōl* < *feralia*
Coates and Breeze 2000, 44 – 53, 351.
"waste land".

OE *funt, hunt* < **funta*
Gelling and Cole 2000, 17 – 8
"A watery place of special significance".
This elusive element is the focus of the present study.

OE *ōra* < *ōra*
Smith 1956, ii, 55; Gelling 1984, 179 – 182; Cole 1989 – 90; Gelling and Cole 2000, 203 – 210; Watts 2004, lvii.
"shore or ridge". This element appears to have changed its significance as its use developed in the OE place-naming system. In a coastal setting it seems to indicate a seashore, thus coinciding with the Latin meaning of the word and thus an early use in this way, but it also signifies a river-bank and a type of inland ridge. Smith lists the significance of the OE element as "border, margin, bank, edge; riverbank, shore, foreshore; brink, edge of hill, slope", and notes the connection with Latin *ōra*, "rim, bank, shore". Watts is uncharacteristically vague with regard to the element, noting cognates in OE (*ōr* = "beginning"), ON and O Slav as well as Latin, referring to the work of Gelling (1984 and 1988) and to that of Cole (JEPNS vols 21 and 22), and finally suggesting a significance "flat-topped ridge", thus abandoning any inclusion of a significance "shore".
It is suggested (Cole 1989 – 9) that sailors approaching the shore would see a ridge beyond the shore by which to navigate, and the significance of the term

transferred from the shore itself to the land feature. In inland areas a definite type of ridge formation is indicated, discussed with illustrations in Gelling and Cole 2000, 206 – 7. Along the coasts of the Solent and West Sussex there is a dense distribution of *–ōra* names suggesting that this area may have been known by the general name *ōra*, just as it is thought that the Portsmouth Harbour area was known by the general term *port* < *portūs.*

OE *port* < *portūs*
Ekwall 1960, 371; Watts 2004,478.
"harbour". This element occurs in the mainland area on the north shore of the Solent, and was probably the Roman name for Portsmouth Harbour, known as such to shipping and traders along the Channel. It must not be confused with the identical element *port* >*porta,* "gate, door", also found in OE place-names. Gelling (1977, 10 – 11) contrasts Latin *port* >*portūs* with OE *pol* as in Poole, Dorset.

OE **winter* < *vinitorium*
Baker 2006, 170 – 7, 184.
"vineyard".

OE *wīc* < *vīcus*
Smith 1956, 257 – 64; Ekwall 1964; Johnson 1975; Coates 1999; Hill and Cowie 2001.
"designated place of settlement".
This element is found in several other West Germanic languages on the Continent, so may well have been brought to England by the earliest settlers. Its occurrence in Continental languages is discussed by Frings (1942), where it may be confused in some names with a derivative of Norse *wîk*, "cove, bay". Continental derivations from Latin *vīcus* occur in Germanic-speaking areas which adjoin Romance-speaking areas. The most comprehensive discussion of the OE element is to be found in Smith (as given here). Its significance and use in the OE naming system varies through time, but originally it contrasted with *castra* in that *castra* always had a military or defensive connotation, whereas a *vīcus* had an administrative purpose, dependent on, and extramural to, a *civitas,* fort or imperial estate (Coates 1999, 108; Rivet and Smith 1979, xviii). Gradually the term may have become "semantically bleached", and by the end of the Roman administration in Britain it appears to have signified merely a village or small town, although the evidence from Britain is unsatisfactory as to just what type of settlement would be called *vīcus*. It is known that Chesterton near Peterborough (*Durobrivæ*) was a *vīcus* in the second century, as a potter named *Cunoarda* stamped his wares *in vico Durobrivis*, though in the fourth century the stamp was merely *Durobrivis* (Johnson 1975). This *vīcus* was presumably the settlement outside the walls of the early Roman fort on Ermine Street (Fincham 2004). In Roman Britain there is no documentary evidence for the term after the second century, and it may be that if a settlement were walled later in time it would attract a new designation with its new status. Evidence from the continent suggests that such a late-walled settlement could be called *castra.* In any case, it was the perception of the incoming Anglo-Saxons which influenced the naming of a place in fifth-century England, and whether they saw a place as a *wīc* or a

castra, according to their experience and use of the element in the homelands and according to what they found when they arrived in Britain. The word became a strong neuter noun in Old English, later confused with feminine, and is found in singular and plural forms, its nominative singular and plural (both *wīc*) having a palatalised final [c] (*weech*) but the genitive and dative plural retaining the velar [c] (*wick, week*). Palatalisation was a normal phonological change where [k] occurred in final position after a front vowel, but later in Old English further forms developed without the palatalisation, and the forms varied and interchanged, wick and wich developing side-by-side and gaining specialised meanings (Coates 1999, 99, 103; Rumble 2001).

Originally, of course, a *vīcus* was a place with many dwellings, but later became used in Old English to signify a single dwelling, especially in literary texts. In some Germanic languages the plural significance continued, in others a singular significance developed, while in OHG it could signify both a collection of dwellings and also a single dwelling. Köbler (1973) notes that in OHG the word *wik* < *vīcus* equates to *dorf, wilare, gazza* and survives more commonly in Saxon areas, which has implications for its use in Old English. In Old Saxon and in Old Frisian, the latter of which is closest to Old English, the singular significance continued (Smith 1956, 257). As Old English developed, the plural form, often in the dative case, *wiccum*, came to be used when a plural significance was needed, and thus came to indicate a hamlet. The singular form *wīc* was never clearly used to indicate a hamlet, and was used mainly, but not exclusively, in compound forms (below). The ambiguity in oblique singular/plural, and neuter/feminine, forms of the word can produce an ambiguity in meaning, and the singular form *wīc* gradually took on the original significance of the Latin word, to mean a group of dwellings (ibid 258).

The development of the element from its original Latin usage in Roman Britain into its varied significance in Old English is difficult to follow. The earliest *wīc* names may signify a trading site, perhaps a seasonal fair, outside a settled neighbouring site, and so of economic dependence on that site and of secondary importance to it. This would typically have been situated outside a fortified town, as at *Durobrivæ*, above, where there appears to have been a *vīcus* outside the walls. Thus the root significance of the word in Old English appears to have been a dependent economic unit, which would have included a specialised unit, since specialisation indicates a dependence on another unit for a full economic function. This sense of dependency and specialisation is continued in the use of the element in Old English (Coates 1999). The necessary implication of a trading place in the original Continental use of *wic* is discounted by Köbler (1973, 76).

In Old English the element may be used as a simplex, such as Weeke, to signify an outlying farm and later a dairy farm. Compounds were used to indicate a specialist site, often to do with dairy farming, such as Chiswick, or to do with agricultural produce, such as Bereweeke, which later came to mean an outlying grange. In parts of England the element was used as a generic with a palatalised final –c to signify a salt-producing site, such as Droitwich (Smith 1956, 259). During the eighth century the element was used to signify an emporium or trading place on the south and east coasts and across the English Channel. London had its *Lundunwic* to the west of the Roman city, *Hamwic* grew up on the peninsula (*hamm*) between the mouths of the Test and the

Itchen, where modern Southampton is, and the form of the name of *Gippenswic*, modern Ipswich,on the river Gipping, is paralleled by *Quentovic* near the mouth of the Canche near Le Touquet. *Wijk-bij-Duurstedt* survives as modern Dorstadt, and some names such as Sandwich also survive on the English coast.

As a first, qualifying, element, *wīc* is rare except in forms such as *wīc-stow*, *wīc-tūn* and *wīc-hām* (Smith 1956, 261; Coates 1999, 109 – 111).

Wickham < wīc + hām

Gelling 1967; 1977; 1988, 67 – 74. Coates 1999, 107 – 9.

This name appears to have been an early use of the Latin-derived element in combination with OE *–hām,* one of the earliest habitative or settlement terms, so a *wīchām*, which Gelling (1977, 1) usefully calls a compound appellative, was a sub-type of *–hām* settlements, where non-English settlement persisted into the early Anglo-Saxon period. The fact that *wīchām* names are often found near Romano-British sites and/or Roman roads is taken to be evidence of an early date, and some, though by no means all, are also near early Anglo-Saxon sites (Gelling 1967, 93 – 6). In Wessex, it occurs in those parts which were settled by the end of the sixth century, and not in parts which were settled later, and the majority of instances of the name lie south and east of Fosse Way (ibid 88, Fig 16), so Gelling suggests that the name was not used as a descriptive term for a type of settlement after c 600. Any connotation of an administrative centre would not long have survived the early fifth century, and in any case would probably have been meaningless to the incomers.

Thus the presence of a place called Wickham does not necessarily indicate linguistic continuity, but does indicate cultural and material continuity (Coates 1999, 109).

The OE element *walh* (Anglian), **w*ealh*** (Kentish, W Saxon).

nom sing	*walh wealh*	nom pl	*walas, wealas*
gen sing	*wales, weales*	gen pl	*wala, weala*

Smith 1956, 242 – 4; Ekwall 1960, 492; Faull 1975; Gelling 1978, 93 – 5; Cameron 1979 – 80; Besse 1998; Mills 2001, xiv.

The word derives from the name of a tribe, the *Volcæ*, mentioned by Cæsar, and is from Prim Germ **walχaz,* a foreigner, especially a Gaul, thus signifying a Celt from the point of view of a Germanic speaker. It has cognates in OHG *wal(a)h*, ON *Valir*, Dan *vælsk,* Swedish *välsk*, where it may signify a Celt, a Roman and, especially in ON, a Gaul or Frenchman. The word was in the vocabulary of the early Anglo-Saxon immigrants and so was incorporated into Old English, though never a common word, disappearing from use in documents from the tenth century, and by the eleventh century being used only for the inhabitants of Wales and Cornwall. Since most extant texts are of West Saxon origin, the form *wealh* appears most usually. It has a special significance in English place-names, occurring all over the country but more commonly towards the west. Virtually no place-names which contain the element are recorded prior to 1066, though in S 1165 AD 672 x 4 the terms *wealagate* and *wealeshuþe* are used as boundary markers.

The original meaning of *w(e)alh* in OE was to denote ethnicity, ie a British person, but gradually the word acquired a status significance, then a moral one. As Anglo-Saxon society developed, many British were consigned to a low status, probably being enslaved, as indicated in the late seventh-century laws of Ine, but though most slaves were *wealas,* not all *wealas* were slaves. *Wealh* could be used as a personal name, even as an element in Anglo-Saxon royal personal names. Gradually *wealh* was used to denote a slave of low status, whereas *þeow* was used to denote someone in respectable, dignified service, so a *wealh* became despised as shiftless and untrustworthy, derivatives of the noun being the verb *wealian,* to be bold, wanton etc, the noun *walana,* shameless people, and the adjectives *weal,* wanton, and *walch,* glossed as *ungerad,* rude, unskilled, foolish etc, and even evil, like the evil servant in the gospel of St Matthew (xviii, 32 – 35) (see Faull 1975, 34, 36). The separation of the two significances of ethnicity and status probably took place between the end of the seventh century and the mid-ninth century.

In English place-names the element is taken to indicate the presence of British people or slaves, according to the significance accorded to it by the speakers of OE who coined the place-name. It is therefore important in place-name history as it may indicate the continuing presence in Anglo-Saxon society of people who were British or deemed to be such. A comparable use in place-names on the border between France and Germany is demonstrated by the name *Wahlen,* near Merzig in Saarland, just within the German border, and thus signifying an enclave of Romance-speakers within a Germanic-speaking territory. Such Wahlen-Namen along the Moselle, middle and Upper Rhine and into the Black Forest are believed to indicate a continuation of Romance-speaking people in these areas (Besse 1998, 201).

The use of *wealh* may be compared with *cumbre*, which still survives in Cumbria, or Welsh *Cymry.* This was the British name for themselves, and when found in OE place-names is perhaps a more polite term than *wealh.* A personal name *Cumbra* is on record (Smith 1956, 1, 119 – 20; Gelling 1988, 95 – 6; Watts 2004, 175).

The name Fonthill.

The name Fonthill needs some examination. It occurs some 5km upstream of Teffont, at Fonthill Bishop and nearby Fonthill Giffard, and has lately been incorrectly classified as a **funta* name, and this must be addressed, as it is obviously important for the present study. The history of the classification of the name is as follows.

Early forms of the name are as follows:

S 818 AD 963 x 975 *videlicet……Funteal*

S 1445 AD 899 x 924 *lond æt Funtial*

S 1284 AD 900 *commutatio de terra Funteal*

ut quicunque episcopus in WintoniE civitate fuerit perpetualiter habeat Funtgeall

The elements of the name are **font* or **funt* + **iol* (Gover et al 1939, 190; Watts 2004, 235), the second element a name-forming suffix to give the meaning of "a place abounding in springs or streams", and indeed the situation at Fonthill is such that there are many such watery places, springs rising even under dwelling-houses (local knowledge).

Fonthill has always, historically, been classified as a British name. Ekwall (1922, 108) describes it as obviously Brittonic

Vielleicht enthält auch der ebenfalls offenbar brit. Name Fonthill (Wilts) perhaps containing brit. **funtōn*, a Primitive Welsh or British form from Latin *fontāna*, with similar derivations in Old Cornish *funten* and Old Breton *funton.*

Gover et al refer to Fonthill Brook (1939, 7) and list the occurrences of the name but find the first element difficult (ibid 190). Ekwall (1960,183) identifies the settlement name with the river name Fonthill Brook, stating that the first element is a British river name identical with that of the River Font in Northumberland, and making a clear differentiation between this and Old English **funta*. Coates (Coates and Breeze 2000, 339, 364) also evidences the name of the River Font and lists the river name Fonthill as structurally Brittonic. Gelling (Gelling and Cole 2000, 17), though referring to both Fonthill and Fontmell (Dorset) under the entry for **funta,* says they should be regarded as British, not Old English, names. Watts (2004, 235) derives both elements from Primitive Welsh, **font*, **funt* + **iol.*

Thus all authorities follow Ekwall (1922) in considering Fonthill as a British, not Old English, name, and so not to be confused with **funta* names. It has never been listed as a **funta* name until Eagles (2004, 236, now rejected by the author, pers com) included it with Teffont and Fovant, and Draper (2006, 17 – 18) who includes it in the total national incidence of **funta,* erroneously interpreting it as a "quasi-habitative" element and associating the element with spring-line settlements of Roman origin. This completely misunderstands the use of the element and infers that all elements at springs should be called **funta*, which is obviously not the case and, moreover, ignores the fact that there are neighbouring settlements with names in **funta* and *wella,* which demonstrates the special significance of the element **funta*. If **funta* were not an element with distinguishing characteristics, it would have had no place in the Old English place-naming lexicon.

There are many linguistic reasons for rejecting Fonthill as an Old English name. It consists of two British elements, both of which have cognates in other Celtic languages. In Fonthill, Wilts, the second element **iol* is clearly British,

corresponding to Welsh *–ial* (Gover et al 1939, 6; Watts 2004, 235). The cognates of *font, funt* all derive from Late Latin *fontāna*, and the phonological and morphological development from *fontāna* into Old English **funta* is chronicled in detail by Jackson (1953, 295, 676, 680 – 1). The Old English element **funta* is never combined with a British element, occurring as generic (eg Teffont) or as qualifier (eg Funtley, Hants) or as a simplex (eg early forms of Fonthill, Sussex and Funthams, Cambridgeshire). The structure of the name Fonthill exactly parallels that of Deverill, *dußr + ial*, another local name for the upper reaches of the Wylye which also gives its name to settlements, and also parallels Fontmell (Dorset), Primitive Welsh **funtōn + *mēl,* "spring or stream by a bare hill" (Watts 2004, 235), which again gives its name to settlements.

A further point on the structure of the name is that the generic is the first element, with the qualifier second, again paralleled by Fontmell and Deverill. Gelling gives a date for certain structural changes in Primitive Welsh (1978, 99): prior to the sixth century, the qualifier usually preceded the generic, as in for example Mal + vern, but post sixth-century names have the reverse structure, as in *Pen + sax*, or *Font + ial*. This indicates that people speaking Primitive Welsh, the language of the British at this time, were living in the Fonthill region and coining names, whereas people speaking Old English were coining names a few kilometres to the east at Teffont, and in fact using an old and unusual qualifier, **teo*, a boundary, to describe the spring here.

This detailed discussion of the name Fonthill has been undertaken to reinforce the argument that Teffont and Fovant were at the western limit of Anglo-Saxon penetration in this area until the seventh century, with Fonthill at the eastern edge of the survival of British authority until this period. The name Chilmark reinforces the argument that this was a boundary area.

The place-name Bonhunt.

There has been some discussion as to whether Bonhunt can be considered as a **funta* site, and if so, how its name compares with other **funta* names. This is not the place to consider how and when **funta* entered the Old English place-name lexicon, or its philological journey from Late Latin to English; these matters are considered in Gelling 1977, Smith 1956 etc. The most recent work on this particular name has been done by Hough (1995) and Insley (1996). Here the two elements of the name will be taken separately, the generic **funta* first, then the qualifying element *bon-*.

****funta:*** this element is considered at length in Hough, who finally established that Bonhunt should be included in the set of **funta* names. (It should be noted that the substitution of *h* for *f* occurs regularly in some Romance languages, for example Spanish *hijo* < Latin *fili(um),* Spanish *hermosa* < Latin *formosa,* and a comparable development of –f- to –h- in English **funta* place-names presents no problem (Gover et al 1936, xvi – xvii; Gover et al 1938, 220; Gelling 1977, 8) and is, in fact common, taking place around AD1000 but with variation in date and security.) Hough considers possibilities for the derivation and significance of the generic:

a) OE **funta*: an unrecorded but securely provenanced OE noun, a loan from Late Latin *fontāna* which exists in OE place-names in oblique cases only. Hough compares –hunt in Bonhunt with other secure derivations (Hough 1995, 207 – 9).

b) **hunte: *hunt*, an unrecorded OE noun. Hough rejects this possibility on the grounds that there is no acceptable evidence for its existence in OE or in ME. Its substantive use first occurs in the sixteenth century, and then as a verbal derivative, and the meaning hunting district is not attested by the Oxford English Dictionary until 1857 (ibid, 209).

c) OE *huntan*: huntsmen. Hough rejects this as a fabrication by Ekwall (1933). The supposed existence of **huntan* as a plural of *hunta* is unknown in OE and therefore impossible on morphological grounds (ibid, 210).

Thus Hough comes down in favour of **funta* as the derivative of the generic, and Insley accepts her argument (Insley 1996, 544 – 5). Apart from Mills, who still prefers a derivation from **hunte* (Mills 2003, 497), all modern scholars concur in including Bonhunt as a **funta* site and name, especially as there are springs locally and close to Bonhunt (Watts 2004; Insley 1996; Gelling and Cole 2000, 18).

Bon-: Hough and Insley both consider the possible derivations for the qualifier:

a) **Bana:* an unrecorded OE personal name. Hough points out a possible survival in Banbury, Oxon and Banningham, Norfolk, and finds this derivation for Bonhunt "plausible, though unproven" (Hough 1995, 211). Insley, however, disposes of this possibility on morphological grounds, as there are no recorded instances of a necessary –an, -en or –e in early spellings, such as exist in early spellings of other Essex place-names where the first element is a personal name of this declension, such as Dagenham (Insley 1996, 545 – 6).

b) OE (*ge)bann:* summons. This would make sense if combined with **hunte* which has been rejected. (*ge)bann* is nowhere recorded in place-names and there is no independent evidence of this word as a place-name forming element. It is now known that in some 40 occurrences of the word, only one lacks the ge- (Hough 1995, 211 – 12). Insley does not consider this word as a possibility.

c) OE *bana*: a killer or murderer, identical with the hypothetical personal name above. Insley likewise disposes of a derivation from this OE noun on phonological grounds. Normal chronological developments in dialect would have precluded the retention of –o- in this position in the first syllable. Thus neither **Bana* nor *bana* is possible on morphological or on phonological grounds (ibid, 546 – 7).

d)OE *bān*: bone. Insley cannot exclude a derivation from this noun which retains the same form in the nominative plural and is therefore formally possible, but although he recognises that deposition of bone at ritual watery sites was common in Iron Age Germany and Scandinavia, he rejects a derivation from *bān* on the grounds that archaeological evidence does not support this theory. Thus though morphologically, etymologically and phonologically possible, he cannot accept it because he has no knowledge of the site itself (ibid, 547 – 8).

e) An unrecorded cognate of the ON *beinn* (adj), straight, favourable, appropriate, which would give OE**bān.* This word occurs in English rivers in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and Insley is obliged, *faute de mieux,* to accept this alternative as the first element in Bonhunt, on semantic grounds (ibid, 548 – 9).

Thus Hough favours a derivation from **Banan *funta,* "Bana's spring". Insley favours a derivation from **bān *funta,* "pleasant spring". However, despite their articles having been published in 1995 and 1996 respectively, neither takes into account Wade's 1980 report of the excavation of the Middle Saxon site at Bonhunt Farm, where quantities of bone, unusual in number and composition, were found. All bones were found in the earliest of the mid-Saxon ditches to be excavated, and few show butchery marks. Only a small part of the site was excavated.

Bone deposition at Bonhunt:
600 pig, mostly heads (skulls)
200 cattle, all bone types, mostly elderly
100 sheep, all bone types
Birds: 295 adult fowl, including
228 wild geese
35 wild duck
10 dove
1 peacock

Parallels exist with the deposit of a stack of cattle skulls at the eastern entrance to the "temple" at Yeavering (Hamerow 2006, 7) and with the scatter of teeth of pigs and oxen at Harrow (Meaney, 1992, 104). Hamerow states that 28% of deposits which fall into her category of "special" consist of skulls, and she also mentions deposition in ditches and at boundaries, referring to Reynolds's comments on depositions and liminal location (Hamerow 2006, 2, 9, 12, 132).

The estate details mentioned in the main text for Bonhunt suggest that Bonhunt could be the descendant of a mid-Saxon estate with some significance as a tribute, tax-gathering or ritual centre. The eleventh-century reconstruction of St Helen's chapel on an earlier site with burials reinforces the idea of a ritual focus, together with the presence of skulls in a boundary location. St Helen was, among her other attributes, the patron saint of springs, and some holy wells are dedicated to her. Churches dedicated to her are frequent in the East Midlands and Yorkshire. She is conflated with the mother of the Emperor Constantine, who was proclaimed at York, whose feast day in the Western church is August 18th, but another feast day especially celebrated in northern Britain is May 3rd, traditionally the anniversary of Helen's discovery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem. This day was also known as St Helen's day-in-the-spring or Ellenmas, after which cattle were no longer allowed to graze in certain fields, and which replaced Beltane in the northern Pennine district (Jones 1986; Jones 2007, 45, 115 – 8, 128, 143 – 7, 200 – 058). At Bonhunt a service is held in the chapel annually on August 18th (local information).

Probably less than half, even a third, of the site has been excavated, and Wade suggests that important evidence lies to the west. The use of **funta* as a place-name forming element is usually taken to be early, and the earliest evidence from Bonhunt is sixth-century, when **funta* could still have been used creatively.

On present evidence the derivation of Bon- appears to be from the common OE noun *bān,* bone. This involves no invocation of putative unrecorded words or forms, and is consistent with archaeological evidence. This reasoning has been accepted by Dr Gelling, who also suggested it in 2000 but without all the evidence listed here (Gelling pers com 15.04.07).

As Insley says

Place-names are linguistic artefacts and must be analysed within the parameters of their formal phonological, morphological and semantic structures. Only then can we hope to reach reliable etymologies. The stringent application of such methodological criteria is the basis of etymological investigation in place-name research (Insley 1996, 549).

I would venture to add that knowledge from archaeology, history and topography will also help the place-name scholar to avoid improbabilities and to inform research.

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